The Nation.

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The Week.

THE bill of the Senate Finance Committee consists of two principal features: first, addition of $12,000,000 to the silver purchases of the Government during the ensuing year, and, second, the issue of $200,000,000 of 2 per cent. bonds to take the place of an equal amount of 4 and 4½ per cents, which are to be redeemed or purchased. The latter measure is intended to afford the national banks an opportunity to obtain a kind of security for their circulating notes which will not slip out of their fingers as the present bonds do. The present fours command a premium of 21 per cent. This premium will be extinguished in sixteen and one-half years, *i. e.*, at the maturity of the bonds. One and one-third per cent. drops off each year. The temptation thus held out to the banks to surrender circulation, sell their bonds and save the premium, is altogether too strong. If they could get a new bond bearing so low a rate of interest that it would not command a premium in the market, but answering the same purposes as security for their circulation, the shrinkage of the bank-notes would cease. Under the arrangement proposed, it would be incumbent on the Government to pay the premium, *i. e.*, to buy up the outstanding 4s by putting $21 of its own money alongside each $100 received for the new 2s. This it could well afford to do since it would thus extinguish one-half of the interest yet to be paid. It would cancel a future obligation of $33 by a present payment of $21. The banks would simply exchange the old bonds for new ones. They would receive only 2 per cent. interest hereafter on their bond investment, but they could have the premium in place of it, and the interest on this premium, which would probably be as much as 5 per cent. per annum on the average. A bond of $1,000 running 16½ years would at maturity have yielded $642 in interest. The same bond at 2 per cent. would have produced only $321 interest, but it would, under the conditions mentioned, have produced $210 premium and interest on this sum at 5 per cent. for sixteen and one-half years, $173; the three items amounting to $704, or $62 more than the amount yielded by the 4 per cent. bond running the same length of time. Therefore the banks could well afford to make the exchange, and would undoubtedly do so if the opportunity were offered to them.

The original bill contained a provision that for all bank-notes hereafter retired silver bullion should be purchased and silver certificates issued, these to be additional to all other silver purchases provided for. The free-coinage Senators were not satisfied with this as a compromise, which would have been a surrender of the national-banking system and the substitution of Government note issues in place of it. The opponents of free coinage therefore dropped this part of the silver programme and reported the 2 per cent. bond clause in place of it. This action betokens a division in the Republican party in the Senate on the financial question as a whole, which is not likely to be healed. If the caucus meetings which preceded the Finance Committee's meeting could not achieve harmony, we may not look for harmony at all during the present session. A split in the party means no legislation whatever, for the leaders will make everything subservient to party success. Nothing that they can carry into the next Presidential campaign will be so bad as a declared breach in their own ranks. If there is such a breach, it will be stayed. The silver question and the bank question will be adjourned over to the next Congress. What may happen then cannot now be foreseen.

President Harrison deserves only praise for the appointment to the Supreme Bench which he made last week. Henry B. Brown's name is not one familiar to the country, but he is a man who has demonstrated his entire fitness for service in the highest Federal court by an excellent record in a subordinate court, as Judge of the United States District Court for Eastern Michigan during the past fifteen years, having previously been United States District Attorney. His appointment is, therefore, an application of the same principle which led to the selection of David J. Brewer for a seat on the same bench a year ago—viz., that the highest judicial honor should be conferred upon a man who has established his fitness by service on a subordinate bench, as Judge Brewer had done in the Supreme Court of Kansas and as United States Circuit judge. There have been eminent justices of the Supreme Court who took their seats without any such preliminary judicial service—notably the judge whose recent death caused the vacancy just filled, and who left a comparatively obscure law practice in Iowa to begin a distinguished career on the highest bench in the land. Chief-Justice Waite was another man thus elevated to great honor without previous judicial service who showed that a good judge might be secured in this way, but the principle of requiring proved capacity seems in every way more sensible. Certainly the country would have had no patience with an application of the contrary principle if the President had carried out his personal wish to give the vacant seat to the obscure lawyer who was his partner in Indianapolis.

Judge Brown's appointment gives Michigan its first representative in the Supreme Court. Another Western State which had never been represented might have had the place if Senator Spooner had been willing to accept, for the Milwaukee *Sentinel* states with authority that it was offered to him. There will now be one representative of New England—Gray of Massachusetts; two of the old "Middle States"—Blatchford of New York and Bradley of New Jersey; three of the great Western States—Fuller of Illinois, Brewer of Kansas, and Brown of Michigan; one of the Pacific Coast—Field of California; one of the South—Lamar of Mississippi; and one—Harlan of Kentucky—who is a sort of nondescript in the matter of locality, being in no proper sense of the term a representative of the South. Judge Brown comes to the bench at an excellent age, fifty-four, and it is an extraordinary coincidence that he should have been a classmate at Yale of President Harrison's other appointee, Judge Brewer, both having been graduated in 1856. It is not at all unlikely that Mr. Harrison may be called upon to make more appointments to this bench within the next two years.

We wonder how the Great Father felt when he received news of the Indian fight, with the loss of seven officers and men, and fifty wounded, and an indefinite slaughter of Indians. The cause of this Indian trouble is said, by the most competent observers, to be the change in the Indian agents which the Great Father has found it necessary to make for "the good of the party," and the operations in Indian food and clothing which the new agents have found it necessary to make for their own good. In other words, hunger has almost certainly been at the bottom of this outbreak. No men are so apt to see visions or dream dreams as hungry men. No man longs so much for a Messiah, especially if he is an untutored savage, as a man whose stomach is seldom effectually filled. The Great Father ought to be the Indian's Messiah, and the agents ought to be his trusty medicine-men; but no agent can be a good medicine-man if he has been a failure at home, and goes to live on the plains and take care of the savages in order to make a precarious livelihood, and lay up something for the rainy day on which a new Great Father will throw him again on the cold world of civilization. How a Great Father who is also a Presbyterian Elder, can countenance such a system, and say his family prayers with any peace of mind while he perpetuates it, passes our comprehension. For all this bloody work on the plains he is responsible. Neither party pressure nor the testimonials from leading citizens to the high qualities of thieving agents will cover him when he is called to account for all this bloodshed and misery. He will have to stand up and tell the whole story in the presence of a swarm of reporters.

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A strong argument against the passage of the Force Bill is deduced by the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, a Republican opponent of the measure, from the recent election in South Carolina. It points out that this election "was fairly and justly conducted"; that, "for the first time in the history of any Southern State since the enfranchisement of the colored element, an opportunity was presented for free voting, and the votes were honestly counted"; that "the bulldozer was absent, and peace prevailed everywhere"; that, "in short, the situation was practically such as the friends of the Federal Election Bill hope to bring about throughout the South by the passage of that measure." What was the result? The colored vote was very light; in some places, where hundreds of negroes were registered, not a tenth part of them voted. Conceding that the suppression of negro suffrage in the past has probably caused the negroes as a class to relinquish much of their original tendency towards participation in political affairs, the *Globe-Democrat* insists that "such an explanation is not sufficient to cover the whole case." "It is evident," it adds, "that the colored man and brother is not imbued with a sense of the value of those rights and privileges which white men prize so highly. He does not care so much for the franchise as many people suppose. It is not to be doubted that much of the sympathy that we are in the habit of manifesting for him because of his political wrongs is wasted."

Mr. Henry C. Lea of Philadelphia has an article in the last *Atlantic Monthly* on "The Lesson of the Pennsylvania Election," in which, as far as regards that State, there is nothing to gainsay; but this passage puzzles us:

> "In the kaleidoscopic shiftings of American politics prophecy is proverbially dangerous, yet I cannot but think that the Republican party will eventually find itself stronger for its recent reverses. Containing, as I believe it does, the major portion of the intellect and culture of the land, it necessarily also contains a larger proportion of voters whose allegiance is lightly held, and whose support must be purchased by deserving. The grotesque spectacle afforded by the predominance in such a party of a man like Mr. Quay was in itself sufficient to repel from it enough voters to defeat it in the next Presidential canvass. From that danger it is to be hoped that Pennsylvania has delivered it. The rough good sense of the people elsewhere has taught its leaders a severe lesson; and such lessons, if rightly laid to heart, are the salvation of a party."

There are many objections to the law which enables the old Congress to sit and legislate after the election of the new one, but it has one merit: it enables the party in power, if it has been defeated at the polls, to show that it has profited by the lesson of the election. Has the Republican party given any sign that it has profited by the lesson of the last election? Not the smallest. Quay is not simply the Pennsylvania boss: he is Chairman of the National Republican Committee. Has the party taken any steps to oust him from this position which he disgraces? None whatever. Has he lost any of his influence with the majority in the Senate, or abated any of his activity there? None that is apparent. Is there any sign of repentance in the party over Speaker Reed's coarse tyranny? None whatever. Has Ingalls, twice elected President of the Senate, been made to make any amends for that gross insult to the conscience and intelligence of the party—the repudiation of the Ten Commandments and the Golden Rule? Not the least; in fact, he sticks to it bravely, and is seeking re-election on this devil's platform. We are omitting all reference to the tariff, out of regard for Mr. Lea's susceptibilities. We do not ask, Has the party shown any sign of regretting the McKinley Bill? We simply ask, Is it showing any desire to get rid of its thieves and liars? We agree with Mr. Lea in thinking that the party contains "the major portion of the intellect and culture of the land," but this makes it, in the absence of a sound morality, all the more dangerous to the country.

Postmaster-General Wanamaker has been caught again rather neatly by the Civil-Service Commissioners, owing to his practice of wandering about outside his reservation and trying to commit depredations on the reformers. In his last report he startled the Civil-Service Commission by the allegation that the examinations for the inspector force of the Railway Mail Service "ought to be made more difficult, so that the candidates for places will better stand the test of actual work." The Commissioners have taken this up, in a letter to the President, and say that, "notwithstanding repeated importunities, they have never received a hint from the Department officials that their examinations were not proper." They take it for granted, too, that the Postmaster-General would not complain of the character of the examinations unless he had some definite plan of improvement to suggest. On this point, in fact, they might have done execution on him out of his own report, for he says (p. 38-9) it is "dishonest to pretend to be friendly to the spirit of reform, which, as I understand, is nothing more nor less than a steady effort, under the laws of reason and human nature, to improve the public service, and not suggest means by which the regulation under which the instruments of reform operate may possibly be improved." This is gospel truth, but was evidently not thought of by Mr. Wanamaker when expressing his dissatisfaction with the work of the Commission.

The Commission caught him again and drove him back when he said that only a quarter or a third of the railway mail eligibles fill the requirements of the service, by showing that of 1,525 eligibles appointed since June 20, 1889, when the examinations for this branch began, only about 145, or about one-eleventh, have resigned or been removed, and it is reasonable to suppose that some of the resignations have been voluntary, so that 90 per cent. have remained in and proved satisfactory, there being no restriction on the power of dismissal. On this point again they might have effectually cornered the Postmaster-General out of his own report, for he says (p. 5) "that there is a spirit of loyalty and devotion throughout the ranks of postal employees, *notably in the Railway Mail Service*, which the best postal authorities declare to be in better shape than it ever was before." The Commission tackles him again on a third point, where he says, speaking of removals he had made in the Railway Mail Service of persons appointed under the Cleveland Administration, that "their room was more valuable than their bungling assistance." The Commission rightly calls attention to this as an indirect admission of the value of the competitive system of appointments. These removals took place between March 4 and May 1, 1889, and amounted to about one-half of those appointed under Mr. Cleveland through the old spoils system, of which, therefore, Mr. Wanamaker's charge is a strong condemnation.

The disappearance of the "Christmas Article" from the morning papers, which last week was practically complete, is, taken in connection with the abandonment of New Year's calls, a striking sign of the growth of the city in all directions. Only one journal has attempted it this year, but in an entirely new vein, showing that Christmas as a promoter of good-will "is not what it is cracked up to be," as Horace Greeley said of Westminster Abbey; with other reflections of a characteristically diabolical nature. The "Christmas Article," which we ourselves always read with genuine enjoyment, was really a reminiscence of Dickens. He introduced it into journalism some fifty years ago, and has supplied materials for it ever since. Each generation of young writers, as they came into action, brought to the notice of their elders, in Dickensian phraseology, the various suggestions of Christmas in the matter of forgiveness, brotherly kindness, and charity, and the peculiar unsuitability at this season of any indulgence in the passions of envy, hatred, and malice. It was all excellent in its way, but it began after a while to be rather wearisome to the judicious. Not all the preachers of good-will were up to the level of the occasion, and they too often degenerated into bathos, and began to excite a kind of mirth which was injurious to Christmas as a festive and happy season. So they have stopped supplying Christmas thoughts for the multitude; but we doubt much whether they would have done so but for the growth of the city into a huge metropolis, in which it is increasingly hard to produce effective sentimentality about anything, and in which everybody is more and more easily bored by any kind of repetition.

The effect of the Parnell-McCarthy row on

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the Bering Sea question is involved in a good deal of obscurity. That it should have its influence is too plain for argument, although some little time must be allowed for our politicians to decide what they ought to do about it. If the Parnellites and the McCarthyites should be hotly engaged in Ireland for a long time, and if their sympathizers in this country should be very much absorbed by the struggle, they might lose control of the foreign policy of the United States. In such case Mr. Blaine would perhaps find the principle of arbitration not exactly *contra bonos mores*. Senator Frye is evidently of this way of thinking. The Portland *Press* quotes him as saying that the first thing to be done about Bering Sea is for the United States, "either alone or in conjunction with Great Britain," to find out whether the fur seal is diminishing in numbers or not. "If it is shown that the seals are disappearing, then the matter should be referred to a board of arbitration." If they are not disappearing, the poachers should be allowed to poach, and of course our own law, which forbids poaching by Americans, should be repealed. This is all very well. The question now is, whether the preoccupation of the Irish with their own internal affairs has made the way clear for such enlightened views.

Mr. Parnell has been expressing great displeasure with the priests for helping to defeat him at Kilkenny, but this is, in truth, a further confession on his part of extraordinary political ineptitude. Just as he ought to have foreseen the unwillingness of the English Liberals to act with him after the judgment in the divorce court, so also he ought to have foreseen the probability that the priests would work against him in Ireland. In fact, nearly everybody else who knew anything about Ireland foresaw that they would. It was one of the reasons which led most other observers to believe that Parnell would be defeated in Ireland. One of the most important elements in every Irish problem is the influence of the priests. The priests have influence not only because they are the spiritual directors of the masses in the south and west of Ireland, but because the agrarian question has made them almost the only educated or half-educated leaders the people can get hold of. They are, almost of necessity, in most parts of the country, the most available political orators and advisers the voters have. Even if Parnell had been a Catholic, he would, under the circumstances, have had no chance of their support, because there are no offences against which the Church sets its face in Ireland so relentlessly as offences against sexual morality. The spectacle of the Irish priests condoning an adultery while the English Nonconformists were condemning it, would have been a ridiculous one. That Parnell should not have foreseen all this when he was forming his plans a month ago, is one more sign that something has gone seriously wrong with his judgment. His denunciations of the priests now may relieve his pent-up feelings, but they must, on the morrow of defeat, make his situation worse than ever.

Gen. Booth's 'In Darkest England' has made considerable sensation in England, and has secured for the scheme it has proposed—the raising of $5,000,000, to be intrusted to Gen. Booth for a great work of social regeneration—a good deal of support from philanthropists, particularly clergymen. But it has also drawn forth an amount of criticism such as the Salvation Army has never before had to encounter, and which now seems likely to have serious consequences for the whole organization. It has come out that Gen. Booth did not write the book at all, that Commissioner Smith, his chief lieutenant, wrote it, and that the plan it proposed was in its main features Commissioner Smith's. To claim its authorship under these circumstances was an odd thing for the chief of a religious organization to do, particularly when he was asking the English public to intrust a million sterling to his discretion. But this is not all. The appeal and the comments it has called forth have let loose a great deal of hostility to "the Army," which has hitherto been for one reason or another suppressed. Some one sent £1,000 to Prof. Huxley, asking him to hand it over to Gen. Booth for use in his regeneration scheme, if he (Prof. Huxley) approved of it. Huxley announced publicly that he did not approve of it, on the general ground that large religious or semi-religious organizations, like the Roman monastic orders, held together by implicit obedience under one chief, were morally and politically injurious to the community. This fulmination brought him a shower of communications about the Salvation Army, which led him to return to the charge, accusing Gen. Booth of using the funds of the organization in such a way as to keep himself and his family in comparative luxury, while he paid his subordinate officers a mere pittance and treated them with great tyranny. He intimated, at the same time, that he had worse things than these about the funds in reserve, which would, if necessary, show the General's audacity in asking people to intrust a million sterling to his discretion. Prof. Huxley's attack was followed up by letters from the leaders and promoters of several societies which work among the poor in London, declaring that they had yet to light on a single case of permanent redemption or elevation of any victim of vice or poverty through the agency of the Salvation Army. The news of Commissioner Smith's resignation looks as if Huxley's assault had caused considerable perturbation of some kind inside the fort.

Cuba is demanding an unwonted amount of attention from the home Government these days. The question of representation in the Spanish Cortes is one which has long been a sore point with the Cubans. A law of 1878 put the Cuban representation at twenty-seven deputies, and authorized the Government to make a suitable division of the island into districts. This division has not yet been made. That is one grievance, and another lies in the fact that the abolition of slavery has added at least 300,000 to the free population, thus entitling Cuba to five additional deputies; but she has not had them. A similar state of things exists in Porto Rico also. But the Spanish Government has just issued a decree making the requisite enlargement of the colonial representation, and authorizing the Governor-Generals themselves to make the proper electoral divisions. In the matter of restricted navigation and commercial relations with the United States, the complaining Cubans are not likely to fare so well. Say the Cubans: "Our duty on flour is seven dollars the hundred kilos, while in Spain it is but $1.60; the result is, that American flour goes to Spain, and thence gets free entry into Cuba, making mockery of our tariff." The Ministry admits that this is done, but says that such flour bears only a small proportion to the total amount of flour exported from Spain, and, furthermore, that the Spanish duty is soon to be raised to the prohibitory point. That is the sort of answer the Cubans are going to get all around; their foreign navigation is to be put still more exclusively under the flag of Spain, and their wish for commercial reciprocity with this country will be met by higher tariffs, in defiant answer to McKinley.

Elections to the provincial legislatures took place in Spain on December 7, and the results fall in with the general Conservative trend; one estimate puts the supporters of the Administration elected at 354, against 162 for all divisions of the Opposition. The Conservative organs assert that there was never an election in Spain so free from governmental interference, pointing to the fact that in the province of Madrid, where, if anywhere, official influence could make itself unwarrantably weighty, the Government elected but two out of sixteen members, and confidently predicting an equally untrammelled choice of a Conservative majority in the next Cortes. The Liberal papers, on the contrary, after their first rejoicing over their unexpected success in Madrid, were loud in their declarations that grave abuses had been committed, and were definitely proposing to prosecute the Governors of five specified provinces for electoral frauds. Probably the truth lies somewhere between the two extremes. At any rate, the Opposition will approach the February general elections with scarcely concealed hopelessness. Castelar has recently issued a manifesto calling for an active union of all elements of the Opposition in the canvass, but as Sagasta is precluded from making terms with the avowed Republicans, the appeal can amount to little except to betray the weakness of the Opposition. One surprising feature of the elections was the low percentage of qualified voters going to the polls. Under the new suffrage law there were in Madrid, for example, 118,000 electors entitled to vote, but of these only 18,000 actually voted. Similar proportions were observable in the provinces. This, of course, takes away considerable significance from the result.

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A WORD FOR OBSTRUCTIONISTS.

THE Anglo-Saxon world has been ringing during the past seven years with the complaints of parties in power over the obstruction offered to legislation by the parliamentary minorities. There has been a great deal of such obstruction, and it has led to very remarkable changes in the rules of English parliamentary procedure as well as in those of Congress. The American Senate, in fact, is to-day the only important legislative body in the world in which neither the majority nor the presiding officer has any power to restrict debate. Instead of prizing this distinction, however, preparations are being made by the majority in the Senate to get rid of it, and to adopt a rule giving the majority such complete control of the process of deliberation that it can put an end to it at any moment. The hostility to deliberation to which Speaker Reed gave such strong expression in the House, both in his rules and in his talk, for the benefit of the McKinley Bill, is now finding expression in the Senate for the benefit of the Force Bill, even through such men as Mr. Edmunds, whose partisan fervor is now only surpassed by that of Mr. George Hoar.

The case against the obstructionists on both sides of the water is a very plausible one. It is true, as Mr. Edmunds says, that the common parliamentary law has always been "that no man is to speak impertinently or beside the question, superfluously, or tediously." It is also true, as he remarks, that the Constitution of every parliamentary government must and does provide "that the majority of any legislative body has to do its business." But no action on these rules should ever be taken without consideration of the well-known fact that every man engaged in controversy is prone to believe that his adversary talks too much, and is prolix, impertinent, tedious, and superfluous. We have not yet happened to meet with or hear of a disputant who was not greatly flattered by the prompt surrender of his antagonist, and correspondingly provoked by his prolonged resistance. In nothing does human nature show itself more plainly than in argumentation. It is only very great souls who are not more or less irritated by inability to win a complete dialectical victory, although no victories are so hard to win. The old woman who signed "Scissors!" above water, as a sign of unconquerable adherence to her own opinion, is only a type of all that portion of mankind which tries to convince by argument.

All this is as true of deliberative bodies as of individuals. The power to close the mouth of an antagonist, on the ground that his talk is a mere waste of time, is just as likely to be abused by a parliamentary majority as by an individual. The conceit of one's own opinion is even stronger in a group of men than in any single man. A majority, therefore, although it may be the only possible judge of the proper length of debate, is far from being a fit judge of the proper limit of the minority's discourses. We do not suppose there is a Republican in the Senate to-day who has not considered every Democratic speech made against the Force Bill a mere waste of time. These very human weaknesses have to be borne in mind by every candid man in weighing a proposal to restrict debate in a legislative body. The majority, it is true, must rule, but in deciding how much the minority shall be allowed to talk, it is, in a manner, acting as judge in its own cause.

Another point worthy of attention is, that, by the general consent, we believe, of the public in the great democratic countries of the world—the United States, England, France, and the British colonies—the great legislative mischief of our time is not the difficulty which majorities find in legislating, but their disposition to legislate overmuch. Every one of these countries is complaining not of too little legislation, but of an excess. All Conservatives in England to-day are lamenting that the powers of the British Parliament are not restricted by a written constitution. We have not the smallest doubt that, if the parliamentary records of the last twenty years, in the countries we have named, were searched and collated, it would be found that each one of them had in that period profited in as great a degree by the failure of measures through obstruction in some shape, as it has done through the passage of measures, however useful or well conceived. In other words, parliamentary prevention has done far more for the world than parliamentary cure. The legislative fever of majorities is one of the great curses of the day.

Though last not least, it must be borne in mind that the parliamentary crises which have led to serious restrictions on debate, have been brought on, if not in every case, in nearly every case, by attempts at what is called "drastic" legislation—that is, by attempts to pass bills of a violent and unusual kind, about which the public is nearly equally divided, or which shock the moral sense of a large and respectable portion of it. Take, for instance, the occasion for these restrictions in England and in this country. The closure in its present stringent form was not due in the House of Commons to opposition to usual legislation of general utility. It was due to the determination of the majority to suspend the Constitution in a particular portion of the kingdom as a punishment for disorders caused by undenied grievances, before the grievances were redressed—a complete reversal of traditional English policy in dealing with popular discontent. It has appeared plainly, whenever any appeal was made to the voters on this subject, that they were nearly equally divided—that is, that the obstructive minority represented almost as large a proportion of the nation as the majority, and that the majority had no "mandate" on the subject so clear as to arm it with arbitrary power for its execution.

The same thing is true, *mutatis mutandis*, of Speaker Reed's rules, and of the closure which it is now proposed to introduce into the Senate. Reed's rules were concocted not to meet a popular demand, but to force through a measure of an extraordinary character, which had not been called for, and concerning which its promoters were wholly ignorant of the state of public opinion; so that, as the event has shown, the minority which resisted it represented far more truly the will of the people than the majority which pushed it *per fas aut nefas*. These observations apply with equal force to the bill on behalf of which it is now proposed to restrict debate in the Senate. It is essentially "drastic," extraordinary, violent, and even revolutionary in its character. It does not bear discussion. It has not been called for through any of the ordinary channels of public opinion. There is, in fact, much reason to believe that the bulk of the Republican party is opposed to it.

It is for measures of this sort that parliamentary bodies are gradually being deprived of their deliberative character, and converted into chambers in which arbitrary majorities hold "beds of justice" and order the registration of their decrees. There has been, so far as we know, nowhere any serious resistance to the ordinary legislation of plain utility, and in favor of which there is an undeniable preponderance of popular sentiment. The attempt to gag the minority in the Senate is made the more objectionable, and resistance a more solemn duty, by the fact that the majority has twice put in the chair a man who avows as his rule of action in politics a complete disregard both of the Ten Commandments and the Golden Rule. A majority which makes such a man its mouthpiece and the moderator of its debates, deserves no consideration as a deliberative body which circumstances do not make imperative. Obstruction of its action is "a fault not unallied to virtue," as a great orator once said, "and even capable of admiration."

STATE COPYRIGHT LEGISLATION.

MR. BRANDER MATTHEWS makes a fresh contribution to the voluminous literature of literary property by an interesting article on the "Evolution of Copyright," in the *Political Science Quarterly* for December. Starting with a quotation from James Russell Lowell to the effect that all property "is artificial, purely a creature of law, and, more than that, of local and municipal law," and another from Matthew Arnold, that "an author has no natural right to a property in his production"—opinions which we are to suppose Mr. Matthews shares, as he says nothing to the contrary—he proceeds to show how quickly, after the invention and spread of the art of printing, the author began to protest against any "disseisin" of the fruits of his labors and to attempt to obtain some legal (*i. e.*, State) intervention to prevent the wrong. There is little doubt that the advancement of the international-copyright idea, shown in the recent passage of a bill by the House, is very largely due to the education of public opinion in the right direction. But the victory is not yet ours, so there is room for more educating, and Mr. Matthews's article is timely and furnishes one useful method of teaching by setting before the reader certain facts of legislation at home and

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abroad upon literary property, so that he may compare our position with that of other nations. In this matter we think there can be but one opinion after a perusal of Mr. Matthews's article. The United States does not occupy the proper place of a great and progressive country, and has entirely failed to keep pace with the evolution of the ethical question involved in copyright legislation.

Mr. Matthews sketches broadly the progress of legislation in behalf of the productions of authors, in England, continental Europe, and the United States, devoting a second chapter to the comparatively recent movement for international protection by means of treaty stipulations. The movement in this direction did not originate, however, as one might infer from his text, in France, but was started in Germany, in 1829, and the next move was made by Italy, some eleven years later. But from 1850 to 1870 France was indefatigable in her efforts to secure guarantees for the protection of the property of her authors abroad, and scarcely a year was allowed to elapse without adding the names of one or more countries to the list of those with which it had treaties, until this list included Great Britain, Belgium, Holland, Saxony, Prussia, Bavaria, Austria, Russia, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, besides thirty-two other smaller States. The example of France has been followed by almost every country in Europe, but the United States, in more than a hundred years of political existence, has failed to secure a single international treaty for the protection of her authors or artists abroad, and their valuable property has been, for more than a century, at the mercy of pirates.

In a paragraph relating to the United States, Mr. Matthews gives a chronology of the legislation upon copyright, and refers to what took place before the enactment of the first Federal statute of 1790. But his references are not entirely correct, and fail to do justice to the very interesting first chapter in the history of copyright in the United States. The proposal made by Congress to the original States was not that they should pass acts granting copyright for a term of fourteen years (in a resolution adopted May 2, 1783), but that the States should pass laws securing to authors and publishers and their assigns copyright for not less than fourteen years, and to authors, if surviving, for a second period of not less than fourteen years. This double term was copied directly from the British copyright statute then in force, the act of 1709. Twelve of the thirteen original States passed such acts. We cannot enlarge upon them here, but as we have never seen printed a correct list of these acts, we will briefly state the dates of enactment, and the term or terms of the protection granted in each case. Connecticut has the honor of heading the list; and we should not omit to mention that not only this State statute, but all the copyright legislation enacted within the United States between 1783 and 1831, was due to the individual efforts of Dr. Noah Webster. The Connecticut act was passed in the January session of the General Assembly of 1783, and granted copyright for two terms of fourteen years each, being a copy of the English statute, but amended to this extent, that while the British act allowed the second term of protection only to the author, if living, the Connecticut act extended the second term to the author's heirs or assigns, if he were not living. Massachusetts followed with an act passed March 17, 1783, the term fixed upon being twenty-one years from the date of the first publication of the work.

These two enactments, it should be noted, were passed before the date of the Congressional resolution referred to above. In prompt response to the recommendation of Congress, in the session of the Assembly of Maryland begun April 21, 1783, there was enacted a law granting security to authors for fourteen years, and, if living, for a second term of fourteen years. On May 27 of the same year, New Jersey passed an act with a double term exactly similar to that of the Connecticut act, a copy of which we know was before the committee appointed to draft the new law. New Hampshire was next in order of time, November 7, 1783; the term of the protection accorded by the act being twenty years. Although this act became inoperative upon the passage of the Federal statute of 1790, it was included in the various revisions of the New Hampshire laws up to 1830, but on December 23, 1842, it was formally repealed.

The General Assembly of Rhode Island was also prompt in acting upon the suggestion of Congress, passing, in the December session of 1783, an act which is a duplication of the Massachusetts law, with only such changes as were required by the change of location. Pennsylvania followed with an act passed March 15, 1784, with a fourteen-year period, followed by a second of like length for the benefit of the author, or his heirs or assigns. On March 28, 1784, South Carolina passed an act of considerable length granting to authors protection for their works for fourteen years, and for a second term of the same length, if then living, with a retroactive clause designed to protect for fourteen years, from January 1, 1784, books which already had been printed. Virginia was more than a year later in coming into line, the General Assembly passing no act until the session commencing October 17, 1785. The term of protection according to this law was twenty-one years from first publication, both for books already printed and for books to be printed. The General Assembly of North Carolina, in its session beginning November 19, 1785, passed an act granting authors' copyright for a single term of fourteen years. Georgia was more liberal, returning to the double term of fourteen years in an act passed February 3, 1786. New York was the last State to get into line, not passing any law until April 29, 1786 when an act was approved containing the usual double term of fourteen years. As regards Delaware, we find no trace of any enactment by that State.

THE GERMAN SCHOOL REFORM.

At a time when the proposed changes in the duration of the undergraduate course at Harvard have brought the old controversy between life and learning more forcibly than ever before the American public, a movement which for several years has been going on in Germany assumes an additional and practical interest. There seems to be little doubt that the position of the old-time Gymnasium, once the pride and glory of German humanism, has become wholly untenable; that, if it is to be saved from becoming a mere name and pretence, steps must be taken to reform it, and that these steps *will* be taken in the direction of reducing the amount of time given to studies which have no relation to the needs of actual life.

It is not too much to say that, with the single exception of the labor question, no problem is at present agitating the German people more deeply. An unprecedented high tide of educational literature is flooding the book market; the air is full of resolutions for and against the present curriculum passed by learned societies, teaching bodies, and legislative assemblies; and now even the young Emperor appears on the stump as a school-reformer. Among the evils of the system now in force which the advocates of reform have been most zealous in pointing out, three seem to be of paramount importance: (1.) The crowding of the Gymnasia by pupils attracted thither solely by the prospect of obtaining a certificate for a privileged position in the military service. (2.) The undue preponderance given to drill in the ancient languages. (3.) The absence of any rational method of furthering the development of a strong, harmonious, and healthy manhood.

With regard to the first point, it may be remembered that, under the existing laws, all persons who have completed half of the course of *Secunda*, the next to the highest class of a Gymnasium, are entitled to the privileges of the *Einjährig Freiwilligen* service, *i. e.*, they have to serve only one year in the army instead of three, on condition that they support themselves during that year. Leaving out of consideration the apparent inequality introduced into the military service by this provision, it is obvious that it also poisons the very heart of Gymnasium life. The young men who come to it with this aim in view have most of them no scholarly purpose whatever; they do not study for any of the professions, and a good many of them are a positive nuisance. And yet by their mere presence, if not by the weight of their number, they affect the whole tone of the school, lowering the standard of attainments, and forcing the teachers into mechanical and stereotyped methods of instruction.

About the necessity of reform, then, in this respect there is no dissension; the only doubt is about the method of reform—the more conservative hoping, by a deferment of the *Einjährig Freiwilligen* certificate to the end of the whole Gymnasium course, to frighten away the undesirable element, the

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radicals condemning the *Einjährig Freiwilligen* privilege itself, and demanding the same amount of military service for everybody. Whatever the solution of this matter may be, it is clear that, through the elimination of this class of pupils, the Gymnasium will assume once more its old and true character as a preparatory school for the learned professions, and that then it will be possible to adapt the instruction to definite and well-circumscribed ends.

There is, of course, a much greater difference of opinion about the two other points: the weight to be given to classical studies, and their relation to the system of higher education as a whole. And yet it is apparent that the days of undisputed supremacy of classicism are numbered, and that the necessity of reconstructing the Gymnasium in conformity with the demands and ideals of modern life is becoming more and more recognized. Even so enthusiastic a champion of the existing order of things as Heinrich von Treitschke declares that the present method of stuffing the pupils with Greek and Latin grammar simply tends to destroy in the majority of them not only all respect for Greek and Roman life, but also the susceptibility for understanding the conditions and problems of our own time. So moderate and cautious a man as Prof. Eucken of Jena, himself one of the finest classical scholars in Germany, finds himself obliged to enter a vigorous protest against the dulling of the German youth through a system of abstruse book-learning and antiquarianism; and it seems that his own proposal to abolish altogether that stronghold of philological fanaticism, the final examination of the whole Gymnasium course, has called out a strong echo of approval from all over Germany. Herr von Gossler, the Prussian Minister of Public Instruction, has for years been insisting on the necessity of devoting a larger part of school life to the development of physical strength, and of all those manly faculties which have such a large share in building up character. And one of the most successful books of the year has been a pamphlet by the noted African explorer, Dr. Paul Güssfeldt, one of the intimates of Emperor William, which offers as a watchword for the future education of German youth, "Less knowledge and more culture." In short, the day has come when, as Prof. Paulsen predicted five years ago, the best intellect of the country demands that an attempt be made to fill up the gap now existing between the schools and nearly all the forms of professional, scientific, and commercial life.

It is under these conditions and in this state of public opinion that the Prussian Government has called a conference of forty-four distinguished professors, teachers, writers, officials, and business men, embracing such names as Helmholtz, Virchow, Zeller, Paulsen, Tobler, to deliberate on a reorganization of the foundations of higher instruction; and it is to this august assembly that the Emperor has unbosomed himself in a manner which leaves no doubt as to his sympathies and wishes. A curious spectacle it is, this dashing young officer talking to gray-bearded men of world-wide reputation about matters of gravest import in his high-handed cavalry fashion, and apparently without the slightest consciousness of his intellectual inferiority to most of his hearers. And yet, as a symptom of how completely the new ideas have taken possession of the younger generation in Germany, some of his words are well worth quoting. What could be better than this?—"It frequently happens in the Gymnasium that a young man writes a better Latin than a German composition; and for that he is praised. That fellow ought to be punished instead of being encouraged. We have to educate young Germans, not young Greeks or Romans; and German ought to be the centre of the whole instruction. Therefore I say, Away with Latin composition!" Or this?—"The roots of our present civilization lie in the age of the French Revolution; and I am firmly convinced that, if we teach our young men the transition from that period to the nineteenth century in a clear, objective manner, they will have a much better understanding of the questions of to-day than they now have." Or this?—"Men must not look at the world through spectacles, but with their own eyes; and above all they must see with their own eyes and enjoy what is nearest to them all, their fatherland."

It would be a mistake to expect of the present Conference a radical change of the constitution of the German Gymnasium. The Conference itself has only deliberative powers, and things will go slowly, even if the resolutions of this body should be as incisive as the Emperor evidently wants them to be. But so much is clear, that those who in this country advocate a shortening and simplifying of the college course are not alone in their contention.

THE CONFLICT IN THE IRISH PARTY.

LONDON, December 16, 1890.

EVENTS have passed so swiftly during the last four weeks that it is not easy to recall the successive phases through which opinion has passed, and to convey the exact impression which each incident in the always changing struggle made as it occurred upon those who watched the actors. No drama within the memory of any living politician has had so keen a personal interest; in none have the fortunes of a single man been followed with a more anxious sense of the far-reaching consequences which his failure or triumph may involve.

The result of the suit of O'Shea vs. O'Shea and Parnell in the Divorce Court did not surprise members of the House of Commons and such other persons as had been "inside politics" during the last seven or eight years. Some, indeed, of them had been led, by declarations emanating from Mr. Parnell himself, to believe that he had a complete defence to the charges made against him. O hers had been so impressed by his resourceful vigor as to expect that he would somehow buy off or otherwise get rid of his antagonist. The majority, however, had heard so much of Mrs. O'Shea and his relations with her in 1883 and the years following that they had little doubt about the facts, and were prepared for the verdict, though not for the humiliating and indeed degrading details which were brought out in the evidence. They were, of course, annoyed and disheartened by an event which the Tories immediately rejoiced over, as confirming their bad opinion of Mr. Parnell. But inasmuch as they were not astonished, they failed fully to realize the gravity of the position, and said to one another that it was for the Irish to pronounce judgment upon their own leader, and that Englishmen and Scotchmen had better stand aloof and avoid all semblance of interference.

This was the view of the Irish members themselves, who promptly met in Dublin and passed resolutions of confidence in Mr. Parnell. With characteristic impetuosity, some of them went so far as to protest their unabated devotion to him, and talked of rallying around him as though he had been a hero or a martyr. This was the first mistake, and it was a terrible one, which has created a swarm of subsequent troubles. The first of these was the effect on the rank and file of the English Liberal party. Having been accustomed to admire Mr. Parnell as a patriot, having recently poured out a flood of sympathy upon him under the slanders of the *Times* and the forgeries of Pigott, they were dismayed and disgusted by the Divorce Court revelations, and expected either his abdication or his prompt deposition by the Irish party. To find him belauded was more than they could stand, and the cry soon went up in every part of England and Scotland that though their views about the intrinsic merits of home rule were unchanged, they could not work or vote for home rule while Mr. Parnell was the living embodiment of the principle. This outburst of popular opinion, in whose expression the Nonconformist ministers were conspicuous, was quite spontaneous. Not only was it unprompted by the leaders of the party—it actually surprised them by its vehemence and its unanimity. It so happened that a sort of convention of delegates from Liberal associations over the country was then meeting at Sheffield. These men, who represent the bone and sinew of the Liberal party, are largely Nonconformists, and are accustomed to apply their moral standards in politics more rigidly than people do in Parliament. With scarcely a dissentient voice, they declared that unless Mr. Parnell retired at once, the Irish policy of the Liberal party would be fatally discredited and the next general election lost.

Mr. Gladstone had been completely surprised by the issue of the divorce suit, but had waited for Mr. Parnell to take the course which the interests of Ireland required. Now that Parliament was on the eve of meeting, and the Irish members had to elect their leader for the coming session, some deliverance from the chief of the Liberal party became necessary. Accordingly, he saw Mr. Justin McCarthy, and conveyed to him his conviction of the absolute necessity of Mr. Parnell's retirement. Mr. McCarthy conveyed the message to Mr. Parnell, but the latter not only disregarded the warning, but gave no indication of it to the Irish members when they met, and Mr. McCarthy unfortunately omitted to convey it to them. They reëlected him, and in doing so, after they knew or might have known the sentiments of their English allies, repeated the blunder of the Dublin meeting. There was consternation in the Liberal camp, and men believed that the Ministry, taking advantage of the panic among their foes, were on the point of dissolving Parliament. Next day, and not a day too soon, Mr. Gladstone launched the manifesto in which he declared that Mr. Parnell's conduct had been such that no leader of the Liberal

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party could henceforth coöperate with him, and that if the forces of home rule were to prevail in England, the Irish wing of the allied army must be commanded by some new chief of untainted reputation. The effect of this deliverance was immense and sudden. It stopped at once the English invectives against Mr. Parnell. The Liberal speakers and journals paused, because Mr. Gladstone had said all they wished to have said. The Tories stopped in surprise, and waited to see what would happen next.

The Irish members, startled and alarmed, summoned another meeting to consider their position; and Mr. Parnell himself, finding all England against him and Ireland breaking from his arms, shot his answering bolt, and denounced Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues as men who desired to palm off upon Ireland a hollow and unreal home rule, and to get rid of himself because they looked on him as an obstacle to their designs. The audacity of this flank movement took every one's breath away. Those who knew Mr. Gladstone's intentions, and remembered that it was Mr. Parnell's own conduct and the judgment of the English Nonconformists on it that had brought about the crisis, held his charges to be groundless. But the diversion succeeded. The susceptible patriotism of many Irishmen took the alarm. Others, who saw through Mr. Parnell's trick, nevertheless feared to ignore the issue he thrust upon them. And the Tory press, headed by the *Times*, gave them effective aid by professing to believe Mr. Parnell's version of his communications with Mr. Gladstone, and treating the question as if it were a struggle between the two men as to which should guide and direct the home-rule movement. In fact, from that moment on, the *Times* and many other organs of the anti-Irish party have done their best to back up and strengthen Mr. Parnell, whom till then they had loaded with abuse.

The second act of the drama opened with the meeting of the Irish members, at which an attempt was made to recall the previous vote and depose Mr. Parnell. Of the fierce debates that followed, marked by occasional violence, but adorned by many powerful and brilliant speeches, little need be said. Mr. Parnell's adroit manœuvre diverted them from the real issue—*that of his own unfitness to carry to victory a cause which requires the support of* English Liberals as well as Irish Nationalists—and made them turn on the question of Mr. Gladstone's attitude towards Irish autonomy and the probable provisions of his next Home-Rule Bill. The pertinacity, the courage, the resource, and the shameless unscrupulousness with which he fought his battle during many fatiguing days against able antagonists, have been seldom equalled in our Parliamentary annals. After having drawn the hostile majority into a trap by getting them to consent to send a deputation to interrogate Mr. Gladstone, and placed them in a false position when the Liberal leader declined to give pledges which would immediately have been twisted against him, he resumed his obstructive tactics, and showed plainly that he would not, as Chairman, put the question of his own dethronement. The majority have been much blamed for their submissive long-suffering, but it must be remembered that they foresaw a struggle in Ireland, and were anxious to prepare for it by giving their slippery foe no ground for complaining of harshness or foul play. When at last they broke away, and deposed him by a vote of forty-five to twenty-eight, every one felt that the second act did not end the drama, but that other and still more exciting scenes remained to be played out in Ireland. These scenes of the third act are still proceeding, and opinion is hotly divided as to the probable result. The crowds of the towns and generally the more violent sections of the Nationalist party are with Mr. Parnell. The country folk, who are more apt to follow local leaders, and are largely influenced by the bishops and priests, seem disposed to turn against him. Present probabilities point to his defeat, but he may be able, though defeated, to maintain himself for some time to come at the head of a considerable faction, both without and within the House of Commons.

To English observers his attitude appears a purely selfish one, and the conduct of those Irish patriots who support him is, in their view, sheer lunacy. He has hopelessly alienated English opinion, and the adhesion of English opinion to the home-rule cause is the first condition of success. He has been undoing the whole work of the last five years in denouncing the English to the Irish and in trying to rekindle the old distrusts and animosities. In spite of this, there are able and honest Irishmen who cling to him as their only possible leader. Some are fascinated by the strange personal power he possesses, the power of an intense, passionate, and self-confident nature. Some are swayed by sympathy and gratitude for what he has suffered and accomplished previously; and sympathy goes a great way when it induces them to believe (as many in Ireland do believe) that he is an innocent man, the victim of English prejudice and a foul conspiracy to which the judge and jury in the Divorce Court were parties. Some hold that he alone among prominent Irishmen has the dictatorial qualities which are needed to hold a fighting force compactly together, and that a united Irish Parliamentary party is more essential to success than even the help of a great English party. To argue thus, however, is so completely to ignore the blow Mr. Parnell has himself dealt at his own prestige and authority for the future, that it is scarcely less strange than the credulity which holds a man guiltless of acts which he did not deny in court and has not since denied.

Meanwhile, how have the prospects of politics in England been affected by this sudden change in the Irish landscape? The Tory press, with which of course the *Times* must now be classed, and not a few Tory speakers have played a somewhat discreditable part. They opened fire upon Mr. Parnell as soon as the verdict was given, and treated his immoralities with much more severity than has been shown to the graver transgression of several conspicuous personages during the last ten years. A far more revolting case, which was tried about the same time, and which affected the Governor of Madras, who had been a member of a recent Tory Government, was passed over with scarcely a word of comment. The *Times* treated the Liberal party as alone besmirched by Mr. Parnell's transgressions, though his criminal intrigue must have been well known to most Tory as well as to most Liberal politicians in 1885, when the Tory chiefs were in virtual alliance with him. As soon, however, as Mr. Gladstone's letter declared that he could have no more to do with Mr. Parnell, the Tory organs went round and began, if not to defend the Irish leader, yet to give him all the help they could by representing the anti-Parnellite members as no better, although less able, than he was, and by denouncing Mr. Gladstone's attempt to dictate to Ireland whom she should follow. Lord Salisbury, who is conspicuous in our politics for a want of good taste and good feeling, went so far as to say that, looking at the matter as a betting affair, he would "put his own money" on Mr. Parnell, and had no doubt that English Tories were doing so. Many Tories of the less violent sort have, it need hardly be said, refused to follow the Prime Minister's bad example. But on the whole, the tone displayed by the heads of a great party *in this transaction has not raised their* position in the eyes of impartial men, while the dignity of Mr. Gladstone's manifesto won for him a good deal of applause even from opponents, and rallied his old friends heartily round him.

Whether the respective voting strength of Tories and Liberals has been affected is a serious question, in view of the approach of a general election. The contest just decided in the Bassetlaw division of Nottinghamshire has gone rather heavily against the Liberals, but this may be due to local causes, and the district has for some time past been deemed a Tory stronghold. However this may be, it is plain that the spectacle of disorder and confusion in the Irish party, and the moral ruin of a man who had been looked on as the embodiment of Irish Nationalism, cannot but injure the party which has made home rule the main plank in its platform. This injury may be repaired if Ireland should herself declare against Parnell before Parliament is dissolved. But it will be deepened if he succeeds in regaining *his control, or even in maintaining* himself at the head of a powerful faction. T.

PARNELL VS. IRELAND.

LONDON, December 11, 1890.

ANOTHER miserable page has been opened in the miserable history of Ireland. She is again divided against herself. She showed the tendency of weak nations to seek union through the acknowledgment of a dictator. Power has demoralized that dictator. When obliged to choose between personal ambition and the unity of the movement he had guided, having come to regard himself as personifying the cause, he has proved ready to sacrifice all to personal ambition. In the transactions of the last three weeks no section of the National party is free from blame, yet to those of them who have been within the inner circle each phase is more or less accountable. On Tuesday, the 18th of November, the results of the divorce suit were known over Ireland. The incomparable services of Mr. Parnell, the belief *that the unity of Irish feeling could* be maintained only under his leadership, carried away all but a very few, and at the National League meeting that day only adulatory language found expression. A mass-meeting in the largest hall in Dublin had been called for Thursday, in advance of the verdict, by those expecting that Mr. Parnell's character would be cleared, and desiring an opportunity of announcing before the opening of Parliament their adhesion to a home-rule policy. It was not surprising that, under the circumstances, a resolution was unanimously passed "that in all *political* matters Mr. Parnell possessed the confidence of the Irish nation.' Mr. Justin McCarthy's statement carried much weight with waverers, that if counsel had been allowed by Mr. Parnell to cross-examine witnesses, a different complexion would have been put upon the case. Next Tuesday, the 25th, Parliament was to meet, and the Irish party was, as usual, to choose its chairman. Many came to London in bewilderment if not agony of mind. One at least consulted one of the most high-minded British statesmen and of

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Ireland's best friends. He said it was essential for the party to maintain its unity, and that the meeting would have the advice of the Liberal leaders.

The meeting of the party was not entirely enthusiastic. Many members sat silent. Till the last moment it was thought by some that the way was merely being made easy for Mr. Parnell to retire; that, having been paid the compliment of a vote of confidence in him as political leader, he would, for the good of his country and the unity of the party, lay aside the proffered trust. For from the moment we mixed with our English friends in the lobby of the House the majority realized, as none of us had realized in Ireland, that the Liberal alliance was for the present at an end, and home rule indefinitely postponed, if Mr. Parnell's leadership were maintained. Also, many had not been prepared for the high and sincere firm stand, on moral grounds, of their English allies. We were puzzled by the absence of the promised communication from the Liberal chiefs: could it have been withheld because our conclusion was in consonance with their own? The non-communication of this advice, whatever its cause, has not been satisfactorily explained. Impressions had been given by some of the intimates of Mr. Parnell, that he meant to retire. The appearance next morning of the letter from Mr. Gladstone announcing his probable retirement from public life, and the certain abandonment of the combined action of his followers with the party, if Mr Parnell's leadership were continued, completed our disillusionment. In some way we had been betrayed, and in acknowledging this, we acknowledged a certain want of judgment on our own part. We had created a Frankenstein monster that would impede our entire course. And all the events of the past fortnight (into which, to many of us, the feelings of a lifetime have been compressed)—the manifesto of Parnell, his turning upon Gladstone as "a garrulous old man," the utter absence of apology from him, his denunciation of any apology attempted by others, his perfect self-command, only interrupted occasionally by flashes of passion—convinced us that we were not dealing with a man weakened by any aberration of mind, but with one of iron will, of matchless determination, of indomitable persistency, who regarded himself as above and beyond ordinary men.

Irish history from Wednesday morning, the 26th of November, when we of the majority clearly conceived our position and duty, till the afternoon of Saturday, the 6th of December, when, as the only remaining means of concluding matters, the majority left Parnell and his party in possession of committee-room No. 15, was the history of a struggle between men of two turns of mind—those believing that home rule could be won only with Parnell, and those believing it could now be won only without him. With one or two exceptions, the decision appeared to be made that morning unanimously and simultaneously. The strangest and most inscrutable of all psychological problems was presented—a vital difference of opinion among men of equally honest intentions regarding a subject on which all had equal opportunities of judging. Anticipating such a division, knowing intimately most of the men as I do, I should have been utterly mistaken for the most part in my prognostications as to the sides individuals would take. Brother, it is true, stood to brother; son—though only at the last—stood by father; the closest friends, as a rule, kept together; but in the main the results were unexpected. For the first time is revealed the extent to which each man really believed in Parnell, really believed in Gladstone, really believed in an alliance with the English Liberal party. It is best so; the air is cleared, and, though the road is obscured, at least we fully know the position of our fellow-travellers. In the breaking it seemed to me that I for the first time fully appreciated the temper of which the party had been forged.

It can no longer be regarded as a mere instrument in the hands of Parnell: two-thirds of the members depending entirely for support on an ample fund, supposed to be completely at his disposal, ranged themselves against him. As to the attractions of London drawing-rooms, society and club life open to Irish members in alliance with the Liberal party, the very men who most enjoyed and appreciated them have followed Mr. Parnell into the cold. Religion had nothing to do with the decision: only four of the twelve Protestants have sided with Parnell. Nor had the sympathy of suffering and imprisonment: fourteen of the twenty-three who had so suffered, and among them those who had suffered most, are opposed to him. Nor does the majority include all those who were of primary importance in the working of the movement: I have noted twelve such, all Catholics, four of whom adhere to Parnell, and one of these, John Redmond, stands among them in the front rank for oratorical power, honesty of purpose, and statesmanlike ability. Mr. Parnell has certainly carried away with him the rougher elements. On the other hand, those members who spring most from the people, and who are most committed to the cause of the tenants and most responsible to them, have sided against him. The three gray-headed survivors of Butt's movement of 1870, who saw the entry of Parnell into public life, are now most opposed to him. He has the best organizer, Mr. Timothy Harrington. He apparently holds the "offices" in both London and Dublin; he carried the control of the League in Ireland; it is to be feared he has en ire command of the Treasury. During late years he has steadily put aside all attempts at divided control. His overwhelming influence was sufficient to suppress even the suggestion of doubt as to the wisdom of such an arrangement. Is it not now clear that this was due to his foreseeing possibilities such as the present, rather than, as we supposed, to the broad looseness of arrangement through which alone, apparently, we had been brought so far safely, escaping the differences inevitable under a more rigid system?

To the majority it is evident that infatuation for a woman, a frenzied desire to have her as his wife, alone can explain his steady determination all through to offer no apology for his conduct, to make no excuse, where, doubtless, many might be made, to leave no loophole for the Queen's Proctor intervening to prevent a divorce. The overwhelming fascination she must have exercised over him accounts for much that was inexplicable in his conduct in the last eight years. Since the time when, as we now know, he became acquainted with her, Parnell was a different man from the Parnell of previous years, just as the Parnell of the past fortnight, who has now nothing to conceal, is again like a different individual. It has been well said that if he had exerted as much zeal and ability in fighting Lord Salisbury during the past four years, as he has during the past fortnight in maintaining his position, the Conservative Government would not now be in power.

But to return to the discussions in No. 15. They were carried on ably and in a fair spirit. Through sitting after sitting, some of ten hours' duration, ten minutes, perhaps, on the whole, would have covered the moments of excited passion. These moments were grossly exaggerated and emphasized by the press. The allegations regarding violence and disorder at the last were unfounded. From only one man at any time was physical violence feared. Never did Parnell show more astuteness than in the conduct of these proceedings; in managing *de jure* with fairness, insisting that each side should have a fair hearing, while *de facto* manœuvring to his own ends. The occasion appeared to lift men above themselves; lips till then in Parliamentary career silent or only faltering were, as it were, touched with fire. John Redmond exceeded himself. Arthur O'Connor's speech was most dignified and deeply pathetic. Mr. Sexton more than sustained his character for statesmanlike power. One of the best arguments against Parnell was advanced by a young man, M. J. Kenny, in listening to whom one of the party was renewedly impressed by Mr. Parnell's prescience and insight, remembering how, many years ago, when he had questioned the leader as to the advisability of restraining Mr. Kenny's youthful impetuosity, the answer had been, "No; that young man will come all right; it is best not to discourage him." I consider that a discussion on so burning a question could not have been carried on by any party in the House in a better spirit or on a higher plane, and I thought a certain wealthy British member was right when he said he would gladly give £50 to have been a listener. It was in the main a contest between men till then bound together by the strongest ties, and who still desired unity. In a great Irish epic, the 'Tain Bo Chuailgne,' it is related how, in the strife at the ford between Fergus MacRoy and Conor MacNessa, those heroes (once close friends) in the pauses of the struggle occasionally embraced and kissed each other. Much was there in our sad struggle of the last few days to recall this mythical incident.

But in Ireland, where the last appeal must be made, how does the question stand? We have acted regarding our constituents according to the views of Burke, that to these we owe everything, especially our "unbiassed opinion," our "enlightened conscience," our "mature judgment," which we "ought not to sacrifice to them, to any man, or to any set of men living." We hope that on mature reflection Ireland will approve our action. If not, we must go. At present, appearances are against us. When the leading National paper, the most influential organ of public opinion, the *Freeman*, strongly opposes us, when it has come to throwing aspersions on the character and intentions of William O'Brien and John Dillon, and assaulting T. M. Healy in the streets of Dublin, matters have gone far. The very man who a few weeks ago arranged O'Brien and Dillon's escape, and navigated their yacht to Havre, was yesterday the principal instrument in seizing the office of *United Ireland*, and destroying an edition of the paper because it supported views which they have espoused. The opinion of most of the conscientious and thoughtful and refined Home-Rulers of my acquaintance in Ireland is against us, and the general current of adverse opinion there must be powerful. The counsel of the Protestant Home-Rule Association has declared for Mr. Parnell. An able bank director, a man of the highest character, who returned to Ireland a few days ago strong for Gladstone, after having offered, if necessary, to contest an Irish seat against Parnell, wrote to me next day to reserve my judgment, and shortly afterwards that he had gone over

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to Parnell. In a letter received a few days ago one of my best advisers there writes: "It seems to me that you might have sided differently if you had remained in Ireland; that you would almost certainly have done so had you never been in Parliament. As always, I sympathize more with Gladstone than with Parnell." The Ascendancy party in Ireland, with a keen perception of their own interests, are for the first time recognizing the merits of Parnell. For myself, from the first moment that I realized the feelings of our English allies, the course appeared clear. Never in all the distressing differences of the past twenty years had I less difficulty in coming to a conclusion. Through only one night was my rest disturbed, that following the day upon which compromise seemed probable. On the decision of Ireland during the next few months it depends whether home rule is attainable within a reasonable period, or whether it be relegated to the distant future. But in either case the position of thousands in Ireland is most pitiable, who, abandoning their homes upon the assurances of a speedy settlement in their favor, are now, through fatal divisions (and we of our party believe through the selfish ambition of one man), plunged into a condition from which it may be difficult for either party to extricate them. D. B.

NICOLAS FOUQUET.

PARIS, December 10, 1890.

I HAVE never been to Turin without glancing, on the way, as I arrived in the Italian plains at the foot of the Alps, at the distant castle of Pinerolo, which stands on one of the outlying branches of the chain, and without thinking of the Iron Mask, and of the Superintendent of Finance, Foucquet, who had been kept in the prison of the castle, at the time when Pinerolo was French and looked on Italy as a French sentry.

The name of Foucquet will always be associated with Pinerolo as well as with Vaux. "It is at Vaux," says Mme. de La Fayette in her 'History of Henrietta of England,' "that the ruin of M. Foucquet was decided on, and that the King consented to abandon him." Recent historical works show us that Louis XIV. had determined to condemn Foucquet, his Minister of Finance, even before he had condescended to visit him in this famous place, which had been built and adorned at so much expense. Some years ago M. Chéruel (who is engaged in continuing the publication of Mazarin's correspondence), published two volumes, full of information, under the title of 'Memoirs on the Public and Private Life of Foucquet.' Very recently M. Jules Lair has given us two volumes, 'Nicolas Foucquet, Procureur-Général, Surintendant des Finances, Ministre d'État de Louis XIV.,' which complete the work of M. Chéruel, and really exhaust a subject which will always be interesting to the lovers of French history.

When Mazarin was at the point of death, he spoke to the young King, Louis XIV., of his possible successor. He praised three of the ministers, Le Tellier, De Lionne, and Foucquet, and spoke at length of the last, who knew well what concerned the finances and the administration of justice. Mazarin died at the Château de Vincennes on the 8th of March, 1661, and the King called round him, with the three ministers just named, the Chancellor Séguier, the two Briennes, etc. Speaking to the Chancellor, the young King said: "Sir, I have called you here, as well as my ministers and my secretaries of state, to let you know that hitherto I have been willing to have my affairs conducted by the late Cardinal. It is time that I should govern myself. You will help me with your advice when I ask you to give it." Then, turning round to Foucquet, he said: "As for you, Mr. Superintendent, I beg you to employ Colbert, who has been recommended to me by the late Cardinal."

Consciously or unconsciously, young Louis XIV. (he was then only twenty-two years old) brought face to face two mortal enemies, Foucquet and Colbert, both self-made men, both remarkable administrators. Mazarin thought so well of Colbert that he said to the King, a short time before his death, "I owe you everything, Sire, but I believe that I acquit myself in some manner by giving you Colbert." Born in 1619, the son of a cloth-manufacturer of Reims, Colbert had himself worked for some time at a manufacture. He had risen by his own merit, and had become since 1648 the intendant of Mazarin. "He was a man," says Gourville (a good judge, who had made a similar fortune in the service of the houses of Larochefoucauld and Condé), "born for work above anything that could be imagined. He had a perfect judgment, an iron will, and a degree of integrity and honesty which sometimes bordered on harshness."

M. Lair gives very copious details on the family, the youth, and the early career of Nicolas Foucquet. He was one of the twelve children of François Foucquet, counsellor of the Parlement of Paris. He was born in 1615, was first destined for the Church, became counsellor of the Parlement of Metz, and, having bought the office of *maître des requêtes*, came to live in Paris, and became at the age of twenty-one the colleague of his father. His oldest brother was Bishop of Bayonne, and, his father having died in 1640, Nicolas became the protector of his family. Between the years 1643 and 1648, he was Intendant of Police, Justice, and Finance in the French armies, in Dauphiné, in Catalonia, in Flanders. Mazarin called him near him when the troubles of the Fronde began. Civil wars give resolute men fine opportunities. Mazarin soon discovered great qualities in Foucquet, and, being at drawn daggers with the Parlement of Paris, he resolved to appoint Foucquet Procureur-Général of the Parlement, so as to secure for himself a solid ally. Foucquet entered on his difficult office in 1650, and maintained himself with much ability during the difficult times of the Fronde.

Turenne and Condé were at war. Turenne fought in defence of the young King, and Condé was the head of the rebellion against Mazarin. The two adversaries met in the Faubourg Saint-Antoine, where a most bloody battle was fought. The "Grande Mademoiselle" saved Condé by firing the cannon of the Bastille on the victorious troops of Turenne. A few days later, after the massacres of the Hôtel de Ville, Foucquet urged the Parlement to leave Paris and retire to Pontoise. He took the minority with him to Pontoise; the majority remained in Paris. There were in reality two Parlements, but the secession of Foucquet with the "gens du roi" helped Mazarin in his negotiations; peace was signed, and all the members of the Parlement met again at the Louvre in what was called a "lit de justice." Young Louis XIV., after his exile from his capital, found himself again in it, and Foucquet made a speech in which he celebrated the triumph of the royal cause.

It is not to be wondered at if, after his great services in the Parlement, he obtained without difficulty the office of Superintendent of Finance in 1653, after the death of La Vieuville. After years of civil war, the finances of the country were in a most embarrassed state. M. Lair gives interesting details on this point, and has a long study on the administration and collection of the public revenues in the seventeenth century. All the sources of revenue were farmed, and much remained in the hands of the farmers; the royal treasury received but a small fraction of the direct taxes (which consisted of the *taille* and the *capitation*) and of the indirect taxes (which consisted of the *aides*, the *gabelles*, the *octroi*, the custom-house taxes). The confusion of ideas in these times was such that it was possible for Mazarin, who was Prime Minister, to be at the same time contractor for the armies; that Foucquet could be at the same time Minister of Finance and Procureur-Général of the Parlement. The division of powers which is now classic in all civilized countries did not really exist. All was confusion and disorder; the science of finance was not yet born.

Foucquet had a brother, the Abbé Foucquet, who was a man of pleasure, and who, after having been appointed by Mazarin chief of police, used his influence for the satisfaction of his pleasures. Among his mistresses Bussy-Rabutin names the famous Duchess of Châtillon; this love affair ended in a quarrel, and the Grande Mademoiselle writes in her memoirs: "Who would have said to Admiral Coligny, 'The wife of your grandson will be beaten by the Abbé Foucquet'? He would not have believed it." The Abbé Foucquet quarrelled with his brother and became one of his enemies. The Superintendent committed a great error at the instigation of Mazarin. Belle-Isle-en-Mer belonged to the house of Retz. Mazarin asked Foucquet, who had become rich in his office, to buy the marquisate and the estate of Belle-Isle. The price given for it was 1,300,000 livres. Foucquet had thus in his hands a stronghold; he was in position, if he so wished, to begin a civil war. His wealth began to scandalize many people; he was a sort of Mæcenas—he patronized Corneille, Molière, Le Nôtre, Mignard, Lebrun, Lafontaine; among his friends we find Madame de Sévigné, who remained faithful to him after his downfall. He had a squirrel in his arms, and his motto was "Quo non ascendam?" He was fond of fine bindings; I have seen some of them, on which, oddly enough, there is a royal crown above the squirrel. (I remember a fine Plutarch with this binding.) Some people maintain that for a moment Foucquet was a little out of his mind; he had what the modern doctors call "the insanity of greatness," a well-known cerebral disease.

Colbert was watching him all the time, and did not hesitate to hold up to Mazarin all the disorders of Foucquet's administration. Mazarin, who had acquired an immense fortune himself, and knew that his own record was not clear, did not push matters to extremities. It suited his policy to employ two men who hated each other. He told the truth about them both to Louis XIV., and, after his death, the young King made it his duty to do what the Cardinal would not do himself. Mazarin thought he could atone for his own malversations and robberies by making a donation of his whole fortune (valued at thirty millions) to the King. Louis XIV. nobly refused the gift—he could not be under obligation to a subject; but he determined to purify the administration, and everything tends to prove that Foucquet was lost as soon as Louis ascended the throne. The King only waited for an opportunity. Foucquet was so blinded that he thought for a moment he should himself fill the place of Mazarin; but Louis XIV. said distinctly that he would be his own Prime Minister. He made

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the visit to Vaux on the 17th of August; on the 5th of September Foucquet was arrested at Nantes, by D'Artagnan, lieutenant of the King's musketeers (one of the heroes of Dumas's novel, 'Les Trois Mousquetaires'), and taken to the castle of Angers.

The trial of Foucquet was conducted without the forms of the time; his houses were confiscated, his papers were seized, and an inventory of them was made. Foucquet was transferred to Vincennes, and there he was examined and cross-examined on a number of points. A chamber of justice was appointed, and he was allowed to make his defence. The chamber of justice sat at the Arsenal, and afterwards at the Hôtel Séguier. We could fill the shelves of a small library with all the memoirs written by the lawyers during the trial, which lasted an unusually long time. Foucquet was accused of high treason; he was finally condemned to perpetual banishment, and the King commuted the penalty into a perpetual imprisonment.

Foucquet left the Bastille, where he had been imprisoned during the latter part of the trial, and was conducted to Pinerolo, where he was kept in the strictest confinement, without any news of his family. For a little while he was transferred to Le Pérouse, and then taken back to Pinerolo. His valet, Laforêt, tried to help him escape, and was hanged for it. Foucquet had a companion after a while, the famous Lauzun. The King allowed them to see each other, and, at the end, he allowed Foucquet also to see the members of his family. The two prisoners were transferred to Exilles; after the death of Lauzun, Foucquet was taken first to the Island of Ste. Marguérite, then to the Bastille, where he died in 1705, after thirty-four years of captivity.

Correspondence.

THE LOYAL REMNANT AND THE FORCE BILL.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I transcribe below, from our State archives, certain hitherto unpublished resolutions adopted in Winston County, Ala., in November, 1861. These resolutions were passed at a meeting of Confederate sympathizers called to consider measures "for suppressing and holding in check a widespread spirit of disloyalty and rebellion which is found to exist to an alarming extent in Winston County." If it is considered that Winston County was at that time more or less fairly typical in opinion of a respectable minority in this State, it is possible to judge of the soundness, from a party standpoint, of a legislative policy, like the reconstruction laws, that disregarded this minority's existence. Whatever may be thought of the larger and more enduring consequences of reconstruction—for one, on this point, I accept the consistent teaching of the *Nation*—there can be no doubt that its immediate and continuing effect on the Republican party at the South was disastrous in the extreme.

Just now, when the harsher memories of that period have begun to fade, and the Southern whites have begun to divide on economic rather than race issues, the Republican leaders come forward with legislation the almost certain effect of which will be to restore solidarity to the Southern whites, and so insure the indefinite supremacy of the old order. There is, so far as the writer's observation extends, but one opinion at the South as to the effect the enactment of the Lodge Bill would have upon the fortunes of the Democratic party here, and that is, as a party, it could wish for nothing better. The enactment of the law is greatly dreaded because it is believed the result would be to embitter relations between the races, more kindly now than they have ever been, and in manifold ways break up the healing forces at work in the South.

Here are the Winston County resolutions:

"Whereas, according to the vote in the late election for Representatives, it appears that there are in this county only 128 secessionists and loyal voters, and that there are about 515 avowed Unionists, who declare themselves openly in favor of the Union;

"And whereas, these said Unionists have formed themselves into volunteer military companies for the purpose of defending the Union, and have banded themselves together in armed companies for the purpose of drilling and practising the use of firearms in obedience to public notice;

"And whereas, every effort has been made by the good citizens, both by personal and public appeals, to win the said Unionists to loyalty to the State of Alabama and the Confederacy;

"And whereas, by the special request of his Excellency, Gov. A. B. Moore, the Hon. Geo. Houston lately visited the county of Winston, and made the most fervent and eloquent appeals to the said disaffected citizens, with the hope of exciting in them a spirit of fealty to the Government;

"And whereas, all these efforts have not only failed to produce any good effect, but, on the contrary, it appears that the spirit of rebellion grows more open and violent every day;

"And whereas, out of the 128 loyal citizens of the county 70 are in the service of the army, but not one single man of the 515 Unionists has volunteered, but, on the contrary, whenever an effort is made to get volunteers, the said Unionists concert together to prevent it and declare that they will fight for Abe Lincoln before they will fight for Jeff Davis;

"And whereas, strangers of suspicious character have been lately seen among said Unionists, and from recent circumstances it is evident that they have communication with the enemy;

"Now, therefore, in view of these facts and many others which we might state,

"Resolved, 1st, That we earnestly petition his Excellency the Hon. John Gill Shorter, to intervene by a vigorous exercise of the Executive authority to suppress and strangulate the said spirit of disloyalty and rebellion;

"Resolved, 2d, That we recommend that each citizen of the county be required to take the oath of allegiance, and that all who refuse to do so be dealt with as aliens;

"Resolved, 3d, That we recommend, if it can be constitutionally done, that a requisition be made upon the county of Winston for at least 250 soldiers for the Confederate Army."

Thomas H. Clark.

Montgomery, Ala.

FELO DE SE.

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: That a penny-a-liner should write of a man's "perpetrating felo de se" is not at all surprising, when one considers how frequently juries are found to announce that "the verdict is felo de se," parallel to which, however, would be the announcement, "the verdict is a burglar." But the mistake here indicated, that of substituting a person for an action, as in the case of *suttee* for *sutteeism*, has not been, by any means, confined to the vulgar. Like *homicide*, *parricide*, and the rest, *suicide*, apart from its context, is ambiguous; and its equivalence, in one of its acceptations, to *felo de se* may have led to the idea that the legal technicality represents also its other acceptation. The fact that it was the Low Latin *felo*, *felonem*, that gave us *felon*, just as the classical *carbo*, *carbon-em*, gave us *carbon*, cannot have occurred to the authors who have supplied the subjoined quotations:

"I made some occasional attempts at *felo de se*." B. R. Sheridan, *Critic* (1779), act. i., scene ii.

"Such fools commit *felo de se* on sense." W. H. Ireland, *Modern Ship of Fools* (1807), p. 109. Here the misused term stands for "murder," not "self-murder." "To become a plagiarist upon himself, by committing a political *felo de se*." *Id.*, *Scribbleomania* (1815), p. 48, note.

"The unhappy Duke of W——n had committed *felo de se* in a state of insanity." Albany W. Fonblanque (1830), *England under Seven Administrations* (1837), vol. ii., p. 52. But the suicide of the insane is not accounted felony.

"We shall expect to see it illustrated in acts of *felo de se*, or deaths by melancholy." *Id.* (1831), *ibid*, vol. ii., p. 109.

"And the Jury debated, from twelve to three, What the Verdict ought to be; And they brought it in as *Felo de Se*, 'Because her own Leg had killed her.'" Thomas Hood, *Miss Kilmansegg* (1840), in *Works* (ed. 1848), vol i., p. 269.

"The supremacy of the Crown . . . has died by *felo de se*." Cardinal Manning, in *Essays on Religion and Literature*, Second Series (1867), p. 19.

It will be admitted that, of all men, a learned lawyer should be counted on for employing the phrase in question with unfailing propriety. Yet Mr. F. N. Rogers, Q.C., in his 'Ecclesiastical Law' (1840), p. 129, after rightly speaking of "the private interment of the remains of a person *felo de se*," has "the verdict of *felo de se*," thus lapsing into the inaccuracy so common among laymen.

Not wholly dissimilar to the solecism animadverted on is, "he has *malaria*," or "he has caught *malaria*," an expression often seen in American newspapers, and heard in conversation with Americans. Before this can be legitimate, *malaria* must, after the analogy of *cold*, come to mean a disease. At present it is not a whit less wrong than would be, "to have *frost* or *lightning*," where what is intended is the effects of one or other of them.

Your obedient servant, F. H.

Marlesford, England, November 22, 1890.

P. S. Turning over my notes, I find something to add to two of my recent letters.

Of rare, and mostly frivolous, verbs in *-fy* the list which I gave can be largely supplemented. A few more that seem to be new to the Dictionaries are: *Complexify*, *drunkify*, *essayfy*, *hypocrify*, *jollify*, *lilify*, *partify*, *preachify*, *popefy*, *scenefy*, *superdevilify*, *Torify*, *tutorify*.

In Act v., Scene iv., of the *Cheats* (1662) by John Wilson, is found, as printed in his *Dramatic Works* (ed. 1874), p. 98:

"Mrs. Whitebroth—How will the old enemy erect himself!

Mrs. Mopus—And the holy sisters be humbled!

Mrs. Wh.—Who shall carry on the great work?

Mrs. Mop.—Or perfect that which you have begun?

Mrs. Wh.—Mr. Scruple *transmogrify*?

Mrs. Mop.—Ah, no! (Both of them. Hui!)"

F. H.

Notes.

Harper & Bros. have nearly ready an 'Elementary Latin Dictionary,' by Charlton T. Lewis.

The next volume of the series of "English Actors," edited by Mr. William Archer and published here by Longmans, Green & Co., will be a Life of Betterton, by Mr. R. W. Lowe, the editor of the recent excellent editions of Cibber's 'Apology' and Doran's 'Annals.' It will be ready next month.

Mr. Elkin Mathews of Vigo Street, London, is about to issue a pamphlet "addressed to authors and others," by Mr. C. T. Jacobi, the manager of the Chiswick Press. It is to be called 'On the Making and Issuing of Books.

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Prof. Garnett of the University of Virginia has made a volume of 'Selections in English Prose from Elizabeth to Victoria' (Boston: Ginn & Co.), which serves very well as a substitute for a library, where books or time is wanting. He includes only thirty-three authors, but the list is, within its limits, satisfactory, and the small number permits a length of extract to each author which is a gain. We do not believe that either knowledge of style, or acquaintance with literature, or a critical taste can be acquired by such "specimens," or that they are of such use to the young student as would be the reading of a few, even a very few, complete works by great authors; but if the method be adopted by a teacher, a more serviceable body of good English prose than this volume contains is not available.

Henry Holt & Co. have brought out a second edition of Bellows's well-known compact 'French-English and English-French Dictionary,' in which the two parts are carried along concurrently on each page, instead of being separate at the beginning and the end—a very convenient arrangement; and in which there are numerous ingenious typographical devices for assisting the eye or the memory. In essential particulars there is nothing better than this dictionary, especially for conversational purposes. The type is so small, however, that it calls for very careful press-work, even under the best conditions, much more when the plates are somewhat worn. The effect of some pages of the present issue is like that of photographic reduction, and is very trying to the eyes.

The tenth volume of M. J. J. Jusserand's well-edited series of "Grands Écrivains Français" is M. Maxime du Camp's sketch of his friend Théophile Gautier (Paris: Hachette; New York: F. W. Christern). No reader of this book will wonder why it was that Gautier, a man of great ability, made no mark as a dramatic critic; M. du Camp makes it obvious that Gautier hated music and the theatre almost as much as he loved travel and poetry. It is only when a man delights in his work that he puts into it the vital spark. Gautier's dramatic criticisms, or a few of them, are to be had in six volumes, and they gather dust on the shelves of students of the French drama, while 'Tra los Montes' and 'Émaux et Camées' pass from hand to hand, and get themselves worn out by perusal. Hating the theatre as he did, and despising it, Gautier's honesty is the more to his credit; he did his work carelessly often, but never under influence. M. du Camp sets down a conversation he had with Girardin (once Gautier's editor-in-chief), who called his critic a fool for not selling his *feuilleton* to the theatrical managers. M. du Camp divides his biography into five chapters, devoted to Gautier's youth, his criticisms, his travels, his tales, and his poetry. On p. 200 we learn that Gautier wrote a *feuilleton* the day his mother died, and that the pay served to bury her—just as Dr. Johnson wrote 'Rasselas' to pay for his mother's funeral expenses.

The seventh volume is now ready of M. Auguste Vitu's 'Les Mille et Une Nuits au Théâtre' (Paris: Ollendorff; New York: F. W. Christern). It contains the dramatic criticisms which M. Vitu published in the *Figaro* from April, 1880, to June, 1881, during which period "Divorçons" and "Le Monde où l'on s'ennuie" were the most important plays produced. There is also a pleasantly erudite article on the revival of Molière's "Impromptu de Versailles."

Obviously incited by the success of Mr. Jerome K. Jerome's clever little book on 'Stage-Land: Curious Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants,' Mr. Percy Fitzgerald has now prepared a little book on 'Music-Hall Land: An Account of the Natives, Male and Female, Pastimes, Songs, Antics, and General Oddities of that Strange Country' (London: Ward & Downey); but his theatrical gazetteer lacks the liveliness and the point of Mr. Jerome's. Nor is it as exact as the paper on the same subject contributed to the January number of *Harper's* by "F. Anstey." Yet in either production the American reader can find a record of one of the strangest of London products—the music-hall—at once like and unlike the Parisian café chantant and the American variety show. It was Planché who called certain songs "most music-hall, most melancholy," and neither Mr. Fitzgerald nor Mr. Guthrie can explain why the British music-hall is inexpressibly depressing to an American.

The second part of vol. ii. of the Final Report of the State Geologist of New Jersey is concerned with zoölogy, and is divided between catalogues of insects and of vertebrates. The first has been drawn up by Prof. John B. Smith, under difficulties, for the collectors have been very unequally distributed, and have confined themselves mainly to *Coleoptera* and *Lepidoptera*, so that, except in these orders, "New Jersey is practically unexplored," and even in these "northern and northwestern New Jersey are entirely unrepresented." Prof. Smith thinks his 6,098 listed species will probably be increased by at least 20 per cent. A certain acknowledged incompleteness attaches also to the descriptive catalogue of the vertebrates, which is a working over, by Dr. Julius Nelson, of Dr. C. C. Abbott's catalogue of 1868. Each species has been described with a view to distinguishing it from its allies, and for the benefit of the gunner and the angler in particular. Dr. Abbott's notes on the habits of the several animals have been retained, and make this section of the volume not unreadable.

From B. Westermann & Co. we have the *Almanach de Gotha* for 1891, still somewhat stouter than heretofore, and more densely packed than ever with the information for which it is famous. A great extension has been given to the third part of its genealogical division, which embraces the princely houses of Europe, non-sovereign, and particularly in the case of those of France. Thus the Duchesse d'Uzès, who poured money so unstintedly into Boulanger's bottomless pocket, is represented with her family, of an old feudal house in Languedoc. The editors of the *Almanach* cruelly give, with the arms of this ducal family, the sadly falsified device, "Ferro, *non auro*." An enormous labor has been undertaken in regard to the princely host, namely, to supply the dates of births and deaths, etc., and naturally only a beginning has been made. One house has lapsed from among the sovereigns, that of Braganza, though it still maintains its place in the *Almanach*. Two of the regulation four portraits in the present volume are of the new King and Queen of Portugal; another is of Gonthier, the new Prince of Schwarzburg-Rudolstadt; the fourth, of Germany's new Chancellor, Gen. Caprivi. Finally, among the useful innovations we remark the localization by street and number of the foreign embassies in the chief European capitals.

The same firm sends us Part I. of the new (fourth) edition of Flügel's 'Universal English-German and German-English Dictionary,' the English-German leading off. We shall review it with care hereafter, and will now only say that it will appear in twelve parts at a monthly rate of issue; that the form is about that of the 'Imperial Dictionary,' but with broader margins and a smaller printed page, in three columns; and that though the type is fine, the impression is remarkably clear. The present instalment reaches the word *bolt*.

The most sumptuous of all the Christmas annuals is *Paris-Noël* (New York: F. W. Christern), now in its sixth year. The literature is not remarkable, the most entertaining article being an outline sketch of Paris in winter by M. François Coppée. But the large size of the page allows great variety and richness of illustration. Among the inserted plates are two etchings by M. Mongin and M. Le Rat after Rousseau and Dupré, a double-page lithograph after a drawing in three chalks by M. Chaplin, a double-page photogravure of a picture by M. Brozik, and a double-page half-tint plate of a panel of the new ceiling M. Gervex is painting for the Paris Hôtel de Ville. There is music also to accompany a little pantomime by M. Paul Arène, which Mlle. Abbéma has decorated with tablets in red and black. The color-printing is not remarkably good, but it is very much better than the cheap and empty colored plates of the Christmas *Graphic*, for example. Of all the Christmas numbers published in English, that of *Puck* was most successful in the effectiveness of its color-printing.

L'Art, during the past few months in which we have failed to keep up with its regular fortnightly appearance (New York: Macmillan), has had for its chief continued article, just finished in the number for November 15, the Cathedral of Orvieto. The accompanying designs have been abundant. The Exposition of 1889 is not yet done with, and the reporter who reviews a century of engraving arrives at lithography, an art which suffered directly from the rise of photography, and has fallen into undeserved neglect. Numerous interesting examples are given in *L'Art*. For the rest, we remark a short article on Palladio, and one on Mr. John G. Low and his decorative tiles produced at Chelsea, Mass., in which the writer has some just reprobation of what he calls "le Bill Mac Kinlay," and what our Italian friends call "la legge Kinley," and which by any name is utterly abominable. Among the full-page etchings we remark that after Jean Béraud's painting of the staff of the *Journal des Débats*—more curious for its portraiture than for any artistic qualities. A praiseworthy innovation is found in two photogravures direct from the canvases of old masters. One of these, "The Falconer," was admirably etched many years ago by William Unger for the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*.

The French centennial exhibit is the real subject of Mr. Hamerton's two articles in the November and December *Portfolio* (Macmillan) on "National Supremacy in Painting," though it begins with generalizations which lead one on unsuspectingly. Mr. Hamerton has much to say of the French boycott of English art, which he sums up in the sentence, "There is no conceivable degree of merit that could overcome the objection against English nationality." He thinks this prejudice is giving way before cosmopolitanism in culture and an approximation of the two schools; but one who viewed the Exposition of 1889 is hardly prepared for the remark that "it was possible to go from the Continental to the English galleries without being taken aback by insular peculiarities," whereas in 1855 the transition was "like alighting on another planet." The American school he of course classes with the French; and as he ends by giving the palm of mastery to the latter nation among all who wield the brush, the association is not unpleasant. Some of his remarks on David, Ingres, Delacroix, on Bastian-Lepage (for

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whose "Joan of Arc" he imagines the French contempt had it proceeded, as it might have done, from an English pre-Raphaelite), Dagnan-Bouveret, Millet, Rousseau, Corot, etc., are just and very instructive.

With its issue for December, the *Library Journal* completes its fifteenth volume. The number is wholly taken up with the proceedings and papers at the White Mountains Conference of the American Library Association last summer. They are full of interest.

A remarkably good number of the *American Meteorological Journal* is issued for December. It contains an account of local storms at New Haven by H. J. Cox, the Signal-Service observer there; a translation of Hann's important paper on the Temperature in Cyclones and Anti-Cyclones; a special account of observations on Mt. Washington by Prof. Hazen of the Weather Bureau; a discussion and correction of some of Hazen's previous work by Prof. Marvin of the same Bureau (and we may mention here a review of Hazen's book on tornadoes by Blanford, formerly Chief of the Weather Service of India, in *Nature* for October); and several shorter papers, among the latter being a criticism of Russell's theory of cold waves.

Goldthwaite's Geographical Magazine makes its first appearance with the date of January, 1891 (New York: Wm. M. & J. C. Goldthwaite). It has qualities which recommend it for popular reading, and seems to be edited with earnestness; but the time for judging it at its best has not come, as the editor has evidently not yet secured a full collaboration. The magazine is illustrated.

Another new journal with the new year is the *Surrogate* (102 Broadway, New York), edited by John L. Branch. It calls itself "a popular and practical magazine for lawyers, executors, administrators, trustees, guardians, heirs, and legatees," and is published monthly for ten months in the year. Number one has a portrait of Surrogate Ransom of this city.

The first two parts of *Dialect Notes* have come to hand. This is the organ of the American Dialect Society, of which the Secretary is Mr. E. S. Sheldon, No. 27 Hurlbut Street, Cambridge, Mass., and membership in which (securing the *Notes* free) is obtainable on payment of a yearly fee of ten dollars. The contents of these initial numbers may be roughly described as materials for an American dialect dictionary, and will call for a very full index to make the collection available. There are also biographies of American English and of works on Americanisms. The *Notes* are attractively printed, and should find a wide and interested circle of readers and students. The annual meeting of the Society took place on December 30 at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tenn.

We notice in the London letter in a recent number of the *American* an instance of the lamb's muddying the wolf's water which deserves attention. This, writes the correspondent, "is the golden age of fourpenny-halfpenny literature, and in witness thereof have we not the *Review of Reviews*, with its melodramatic rhetoric and sentimental cant? . . . Now, judging by its sales, it is the most popular monthly in England . . . It has its imitators in *La Revue des Revues* in France." But instead of the latter publication being an imitation, it is probable that Mr. Stead got his idea as well as his title from the French periodical, which was mentioned in the *Nation* as early as July, 1886.

—The library of the late Professor Heitz of the University of Strassburg is offered for sale, as we learn, upon terms that ought to secure its purchase by some one of our colleges or universities as yet insufficiently provided with the material of classical scholarship. Professor Heitz was himself a learned scholar, known especially for his reëditing and continuation of Otfried Müller's 'History of Greek Literature,' and his Aristotelian studies. His library comprises about 3,500 volumes and about 1,800 pamphlets (programmes, etc.). The best part of it consists of Greek authors (about 1,600 volumes and more than 1,000 pamphlets). Aristotle is uncommonly well represented, not only in the best editions, but in commentaries and treatises on his various works. Latin literature claims about 900 volumes and 300 pamphlets. The history of Greek literature, with that of ancient philosophy, ancient history and geography, has a good proportionate representation, and many rare *opuscula* are to be found in the catalogue under various heads. The books are, with few exceptions, in excellent condition, many of them nicely bound. A card catalogue of them exists, made by Prof. Heitz himself. The principal librarian of the University of Strassburg has made a valuation of the library, estimating it as worth *en bloc* eight thousand marks. This price appears moderate. If further information is desired concerning the library, with a view to its purchase, letters of inquiry may be addressed to Prof. Norton, Cambridge, Mass.

—*Harper's* for January begins a new serial, Charles Egbert Craddock's "In the Stranger People's Country," but otherwise does not signalize the new year's first number. Mr. Warner writes seriously and at length on the prospects of Southern California, with particular reference to the desirability of emigration to that paradise, as he describes it, of climate and fruit-culture; and Mr. Theodore Child contributes an all-inclusive general paper upon Peru, in the South American series. Mr. F. Anstey gives by illustration, but much more by a vivacious and sympathetic pen, a glimpse of the London music-halls; and of most of them a glimpse is quite enough for the reader of ordinary sensibilities. The most interesting paper is Mr. De Blowitz's account of how he became a journalist, and this narrative is of least importance in that part which deals directly with the particular incident that gives it a title; but in the preliminary portion we have a vivid and admirable picture of the political condition of the city of Marseilles in 1870, of the rule of the Commune there in the weeks before it was expressly proclaimed, and of the manner in which the authority of the central Government was restored. Incidentally the sketches of the appearance of southern France during the invasion, of Thiers at Bordeaux and Versailles, and of Paris after the fall of the Commune, are of the best sort of contemporary history. If Mr. De Blowitz's memoirs contain much of the same quality as this chapter from them, they will be of historical value as well as of exciting personal interest.

—*Scribner's* suffers somewhat from a certain belatedness in the contents. To pass over the inevitable misadventure of the article on the Rothenburg Festival-Play, which is saved from being a mere repetition of the account we lately had of it only by its illustrations, the leading article, by Stanley, on the pigmies of the African forest adds nothing to what he has already told us of the race, either in his London addresses or in his volumes, and is noticeable only for the curious effect he notes in himself of contact with undeveloped races, in consequence of which the difference made in man by civilization appears less than we are naturally inclined to think it must be. Prof. Royce's article on Australia also suffers from the fact that he has already told the story at greater length in another magazine, and has cut himself off from that freshness which is requisite in such a contribution. In Mr. W. P. P. Longfellow's survey of the state of architecture at present we find enough to compensate. He takes in a broad field, and he has the happy faculty of throwing side-lights upon his subject from other arts, by means of which his criticism becomes more general and widely applicable. Among the points he makes it is proper to observe his protest against the habit of drawing architecture for magazine illustration with more regard for its pictorial effect than for its architectural value. He singles out Mr. Herbert Railton as a conspicuous example of the designer who resolves a building into a picture. His argument goes to call attention to the firmness, resistance, and in a word the body which architecture must have as its central thought, and to discourage mere color, picturesqueness, and decoration.

—The reports of the Alabama Insane Hospital, at Tuscaloosa, contain matter of such peculiar interest as to deserve the attention of those who are not specialists in alienism. Controversy can hardly arise as to the exceptional merit of this institution on the score of economy and occupation of patients. During the year ending with September, 1890, about 1,050 patients, requiring the attendance and service of over 150 officers and employees, were regularly cared for at an expense of about $130,000. Deducting the amount received from 45 paying patients, some $14,000, the average cost of maintenance was but $117 per annum. This includes, moreover, the expenses of new buildings, repairs, and improvements, which were between $18,000 and $19,000; a new heating plant having been introduced, and a new kitchen and several other structures having been erected. This remarkable result appears to have been attained without stinting the patients, so far as can be inferred from the attractive list of articles of food and clothing supplied. It is partly due to the fact that the hospital premises include a farm and a coal-mine, partly to the fact that the patients labor productively, but principally, of course, to good management. More than 90 per cent. of the female patients and 75 per cent. of the males are usefully employed. The women spin thread from the raw cotton, and make nearly all the clothing worn by both sexes, knitting stockings, making patch-work quilts, doing laundry work, etc. The men work on the farm and in the shops, and grade and terrace and keep in order the grounds. Dancing, in which all the patients are encouraged to join, occupies two evenings a week, while the others are devoted to games, music, and entertainments of various kinds.

—All this, of course, implies the existence of the policy of non-restraint, as to which experts differ and which, of course, we cannot here consider. This policy has been followed at Tuscaloosa for ten years, during which "there has been no resort whatever to any kind of mechanical restraint; not a vestige of restraining apparatus of any kind is to be found about the premises." Dr. Bryce, the Superintendent, declares that he is more and more convinced of the safety and utility of this policy. "The comparative order and quiet that prevail among our 1,100 patients, is evident to every one who visits the hospital; the industry, cheerfulness, and spirit of contentment

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which are everywhere apparent, and the absence of all complaints of ill-treatment or neglect of any kind, as well as the universal feeling of confidence and respect evinced for both officers and nurses, are some of the fruits of this system which we would not willingly forego." The percentage of recoveries is about 40; that of deaths 7, a rate partly due to the grippe and to an unusual influx of aged and decrepit patients. As to the suggestion of the disbelievers in this system, that "restraint by drugs" is practised, the physicians of the hospital declare that it is less resorted to than formerly. As the Treasurer's statement shows only $900 expended for "medical supplies and instruments," or less than ninety cents a year *per caput*, the use of drugs must be extremely limited. Altogether, these reports are extremely suggestive, and as we are all prone to doubt whether any good thing can come out of Nazareth, it is really an act of justice to direct the attention of our readers to this remarkable record of progress.

—A work of special value to bibliographers and librarians, and involving an immense amount of scholarly research, is Dr. Gottlieb's volume 'Über Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken' (Leipzig: Harrassowitz. 1890. 8vo, pp. 520). It consists of a series of papers in which the author has collected and presented in available form all accessible and authentic information concerning the character and contents of mediæval libraries, of which he publishes or summarizes more than fourteen hundred catalogues, many of them derived from manuscript sources and here printed for the first time. His account of the formation and growth of libraries before the invention of printing, and of the manner in which this work was carried on by monks and princes, is an interesting contribution to the history of culture as well as to bibliothecal science. The efficiency of cloisters in preserving the remains of classical literature has been greatly overestimated. Long before the close of the middle ages, monastic institutions had ceased to be seats of learning, and naturally took no care of the manuscript treasures which had been confided to their keeping. Many abbots, as, for example, Conrad and Rumo of St. Gall, towards the end of the thirteenth century, could neither read nor write. In 1440 the works of Propertius were discovered in a cloister—not, however, in the library, but in the cellar, where they served to support a cask of wine. And we learn from contemporary descriptions into what utter neglect even the library of the famous Monte Cassino had fallen at this time. For critical editions of classic authors, the genealogy of the manuscripts in which they have been transmitted to us is a matter of first importance. It is impossible to determine the worth of a manuscript unless we can trace its history and know its origin; and it is only by learned and laborious investigations, such as Dr. Gottlieb has undertaken and prosecuted with so untiring industry and conscientious care, that satisfactory results of this kind can be obtained.

NICOLAY AND HAY'S LINCOLN.—I.

Abraham Lincoln: A History. By John G. Nicolay and John Hay. 10 vols. 8vo. New York: The Century Co.

THE Lincoln biography, which was so long followed with great interest by the multitudinous readers of the *Century*, is nearly doubled in size in the book form. The greatest increase is in the chapters on the military history of the war, most of which were omitted in the serial publication. In the treatment of political subjects also we find considerable new matter. The ten stout and handsome volumes certainly contain one of the most notable literary works of our generation. The authors, who were intimately associated as private secretaries of President Lincoln, have continued their partnership in labors which began in the Executive Mansion; and as Mr. Lincoln was the object of their loyal personal devotion while he lived, his memory and his history have been the centre of their joint activity during the quarter of a century that has passed since he died. They have continued, by voluntary self-devotion, through all the active part of a lifetime, the private secretaryship which they shared during the great war period. The world has seen other literary partnerships, but this is unique, not only in the extent and importance of the work, but in the affectionate dedication of two lives to the building up of a noble memorial to their dead chief.

To none could the memory of Lincoln more naturally become a cult than to the two young men who stood in a peculiar way between him and the public during the overwhelming events of his Presidency, and who were often the confidants of his most private thoughts and the instruments of his personal purposes. They would have been his literary executors by force of circumstances, if he had not indicated them by any expressed wish of his own. We have now the fruits of many years of labor—the completion of the task they assigned themselves as they followed him to the grave. They have, in another way, rivalled the widow of Mausolus in the lavish bestowal of wealth and of labor upon a monument.

It is not hard to see how their work shaped itself into 'A History' instead of a biography. Lincoln's Presidency was the culmination of an historical epoch. His election was the last civil struggle between negro slavery and the nineteenth century. He became the commander-in-chief in the war to which the Slave Power appealed when it was defeated on the field of politics, and he died in the moment of his victory over it. His life was an important part of history during the last four years of it, and he had become prominent in the political arena from the time of his notable debate with Douglas a couple of years before. It was natural, therefore, that his biographers should broaden their plan to include an historical treatment of public affairs, at least from the formation of the Republican party and the struggle over the organization of Kansas and Nebraska as States. In a similar way they no doubt found themselves impelled to attempt something more than a sketch of the military history of the civil war. The early campaigns of the Army of the Potomac were so directly under the eye of the Government at Washington, and Mr. Lincoln was himself so responsible a factor in them, that there was no little difficulty in drawing the line between a narrative of what was personal to him and what more properly belonged to technical military history. When a full history of events on that theatre of war was decided upon, many reasons besides the literary sense of proportion would urge them to treat the campaigns of other armies with approximate completeness. The choice really lay between a rigid restriction to matter strictly personal to him, with a careful editing of his papers and correspondence, and a history of the time, with Lincoln as the central figure.

When the choice of what may, in no bad sense, be called the more ambitious plan was made, the difficulties were by no means over. Numerous subjects would demand attention, each of which might well fill volumes. The work would widen as it went on, and the inevitable result was that gaps must be left from sheer *inability to do everything*. The most notable example of this is the Congressional and legislative history of the war. The composition of parties after the secession of the Southern Senators and Representatives, the analysis of the elements of the Union party, as it was called, the relative strength of its different wings and the personnel of the leading men, the attitude of these towards the President and his Cabinet, the growth and consolidation of party elements, the progress of public opinion as the war went on, and its effect upon Congress and upon the Administration—all these things are so lightly touched, if touched at all, that the legislative history of the war must be said to be practically omitted. The same is true of its financial history. We see Mr. Chase prominent in the general councils of the Government, and his personal relations to the President are not neglected, but the great work done in the Treasury Department is only vaguely sketched. Yet, even as it is, the work is so voluminous that one doubts whether the personality of Mr. Lincoln is not partly lost or obscured by the extent of the picture and the crowds of events and persons which fill it. On so vast a canvas, with so many figures, and each painted rather large, the dominance even of the chief can hardly be maintained without exaggeration.

The authors seem to have felt this difficulty, and to have tried to overcome it by constantly pointing out how, in their judgment, Mr. Lincoln's hand was upon the springs of every movement, and that all the actors in the great drama were strictly subordinate to him, in intellect, in will, and in purpose, as they were in the official hierarchy of the Government. Herein lies, we think, the unsatisfying element of the book. Those who cherish most reverently the memory of Mr. Lincoln, and who unhesitatingly accord him the first place among the great men of the war period, generally recognize the fact that the President was still only first among his peers, and that there was no great gulf between him and his lieutenants such as in ancient legend separated the hero from common mortals. The realism of the present day is in no small part a protest against illusions. To paint an historic character as ideal is held in itself to be proof that the portraiture is not real. Limitations, weaknesses, and errors in judgment as in action, are so universal traits of human nature that their absence is looked upon as a mark of unreality—we would say of fiction, had not the general tendency to realism so thoroughly invaded fiction that fiction is likely to become a protest against all that is ideal instead of being its refuge. The thoughtful reader finds it impossible to conclude that even Mr. Lincoln was always right in judgment and right in action. He cannot assent to the theory that the administration of the Government from March, 1861, to April, 1865, was the best conceivable. He is conscious of internal protest when asked to assume that whenever Congress differed from the President, Congress was wrong, or that such difference on the part of the Cabinet, collectively or individually, was a necessary proof of unwisdom.

The tone and key which will suit the fervor of a brief eulogy will not adapt itself to a history upon a large plan. It is here, we think, that the authors have found their problem practically insoluble. The history suffers by the necessity of making the personality of one man dominant throughout the whole, and the biography suffers from the inexorable "logic of events," which will not brook the conclu-

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sion that but one wise and able man lived in so great an epoch. We are made conscious of a certain strain upon our appreciation of the man, from the beginning of his public career. Lincoln's manly protest against the extreme pro-slavery resolutions of the Illinois Legislature in 1837 is weakened by the authors' comment that the right was "reason enough for the Lincolns and the Luthers." Lincoln was no Luther—least of all a Luther in the anti-slavery cause; and the juxtaposition of this characterization with that of Garrison, "the boldest and most aggressive non-resistant that ever lived," one "taking no account of the expedient or the possible," and of Lovejoy, who is described as "a predestined martyr," gives the incongruity a too sharp accentuation (vol. i., pp. 147–151). The high key thus taken in the first volume continues to the tenth. When the narrative reaches Mr. Lincoln's suggestion to his Cabinet in February, 1865, that they should propose to Congress the offer of four hundred millions to the Southern States as a compensation for the slaves, on the condition of immediate surrender and emancipation, the unanimous dissent from the policy of such a proposal is said to prove "it turned out that he was more humane and liberal than his constitutional advisers" (vol. x., p. 135). Mr. Lincoln would have been the last to give it this interpretation. Even so much of the Cabinet discussion as the authors report, shows that perfectly legitimate considerations of public policy and probable effect were the motives by which both they and he were influenced, and no question of personal humanity or liberality was involved.

When our authors give us their general estimate of Mr. Lincoln's character, and try to put the finger upon the trait which most distinctly marks his mental peculiarity as a statesman, they have done it very happily in saying that he was a great opportunist before the word "opportunism" had been invented. This means that he was ready at all times to secure what for the moment seemed the best thing attainable. It means that he set great store by the practical, even at the risk of seeming to neglect the theoretic. It means a devotion to the general good to the extent of willingness to sacrifice particular and subordinate advantages for its sake. When joined with a devoted patriotism, it is still consistent with seeming to go slow in pushing reforms until he sees that the time is fully ripe for them. It will almost inevitably appear laggard to those most ardent for progress, and will in fact be full of caution and conservatism even when most strongly committed to a great purpose. To such a nature, if backed by clear insight and sagacity in judging men and events, there will, of course, come many a fork in the road when the reasons for going to right or to left are so nearly balanced that either path may be taken without sacrifice of principle. A more positive and ardent character might scorn or condemn every route but a straight line; but this one will be quite indifferent to seeming deviations, if he thinks he may thus reach his end most safely and surely. Even when the end is reached, such a one will be ready to admit that there might have been a shorter and directer way, but may fairly waive the discussion in the satisfaction that the goal is won.

We think the popular judgment of Mr. Lincoln is based upon an instinctive appreciation of these traits in his character. He meant to restore the Union and national supremacy, and never faltered in the purpose till it was accomplished. To this all else was subordinated. It is not necessary to argue that he was wiser in diplomacy than Seward, that he was more unselfish and of broader patriotism than Chase, that he was a better anti-slavery man than Blair. In this respect not only are comparisons odious according to the proverb, they are also unnecessary and unwise. What Lincoln accomplished is enough. How he did it, to the minutest detail, will always be matter of fascinating study to all who find interest in human affairs, and we have good old authority for saying this will include all who are really human.

It is necessary to remember that Mr. Lincoln was by nature conservative. He saw clearly that every question of reform had two sides, and the peculiar clearness of his intellect within its range made him appreciate so fully the objections even to his chosen course, that he often seemed undecided when he was only showing that he understood the cost of his decision. He was apt to be impatient (as far as he ever was impatient) with those who were for driving on without, as he thought, recognizing the difficulties in their way. This temperament made him seem slow even to those with whom he had in his own mind agreed. His whole life warrants us in assuming that he was naturally distrustful of men who were regarded as radicals. He began public life with great reverence for such leaders as Henry Clay. He came to the Presidency with a similar respect for such statesmen as John J. Crittenden. He no doubt had a real distrust of himself when he found himself at the head of affairs, with several States declaring themselves, as to us, foreign nations. He shrank from being responsible for any act which would be the beginning of war, and was willing to go to the verge of safety for the sake of preventing an armed conflict. This made him seem hesitating or lukewarm to more ardent men who did not share his responsibilities, and was the beginning of a misunderstanding between him and leaders in Congress which was never wholly removed. It does not matter whether he or they were more nearly right, he had to work out his results according to the laws of his own nature, or become merely a follower of some one else. He was too genuine a character and altogether too much of a man for this last; yet his sincere modesty made him feel his way towards confidence in himself and his own conclusions by hesitating steps. Through the first year of his administration, and to a certain degree through the whole of it, he seems to be wistfully peering into the future with no full assurance as to any step he took; but still he took step after step as one who feels the ground quaking and uncertain under him, but is still resolute to go on. We may think he could have gone more rapidly or more confidently, without detracting at all from the sympathy and admiration for his character as our providential leader. As he measured his thoughts with other men's, he evidently gained faith in himself. As he tested his courage by theirs in great crises of peril, he learned that he was no more dismayed than they. He found his resources as much at command as theirs, and his judgments as often proved right by the event. He thus grew into a statesman and a leader—in his own way and with his own peculiar traits and qualities—but a leader, nevertheless, recognized by the nation and by the world as such when he died.

LOCKYER'S METEORITIC HYPOTHESIS.

The Meteoritic Hypothesis: A Statement of the Results of a Spectroscopic Inquiry into the Origin of Cosmical Systems. By J. Norman Lockyer, F.R.S. Macmillan & Co.

THE title of this latest book of Mr. Lockyer's does it scant justice. An inquiry into the origin of cosmical systems based entirely on spectroscopic evidence would be as futile an undertaking as one could well engage in, and if there is in the book any special inquiry into the origin of nebulæ, suns, or planets, we have failed to notice it. An order of progress in the evolution of such bodies is, indeed, implied, but the main purpose—we might say the whole purpose—of the book is to propound a new theory of the constitution of all self-luminous celestial bodies, as they now exist. The new "meteoritic hypothesis" is that all such bodies as the aurora, the zodiacal light, comets, nebulæ, and stars are composed either of swarms of meteorites or of masses of meteoritic vapor produced by heat. And a meteorite is simply a mass of matter whose weight may be estimated by milligrammes or by tons, moving through the celestial spaces. If this were all, the hypothesis would amount to little more than that all the celestial bodies are made up of pieces. But the kernel of the theory is that these supposed meteorites are hard bodies in rapid motion, which generate heat and vapor and, to use a familiar term, strike fire by their mutual collisions. Were the meteorites which make up a celestial body but few in number, the light thus emitted would appear only as a succession of flashes, no one of which would be visible even in the most powerful telescope. Actually, however, the number of meteorites in the faintest comet are to be counted by billions of millions, and the collisions among them may number millions in a second, thus giving to the flashes the appearance of a continuous light, bright enough to be seen at a distance of millions of miles.

The architectural plan on which Mr. Lockyer erects his structure leaves nothing to be desired. He builds, step by step, from the earth upwards, taking the same pains to prove things that no competent authority has denied for twenty years (the cosmical origin of meteoric masses, for example) that he does to prove what no one will admit. The falling of meteorites on the earth, the phenomena of shooting-stars, the aurora, the zodiacal light, comets, meteor swarms, and nebulæ are all reviewed in logical order. As a record of facts and references on every branch of celestial spectroscopy, if in no other way, the work may be of value both to the investigator and student. The suspicion that one might entertain of facts opposed to his theory being ignored, is materially allayed by the consideration that the author has unlimited confidence in his ability to explain all such facts away.

The hypothesis has, in its purpose, at least, one great merit. If proved, it would simplify the theory of the constitution of most of the heavenly bodies almost as much as the discovery of gravitation simplified the theory of their motions. If all the mysterious and hitherto inexplicable phenomena of comets, nebulæ, and auroras are results of something so familiar to us as the sparks of light which accompany the blows of flint and steel, then indeed we have a discovery of the first order. But we fail to see that Mr. Lockyer adduces any sound evidence in favor of his view that has not been familiar for twenty years, and this evidence only shows that the orbits of comets and meteoric streams are closely related. The very first step in the proof is not only wholly wanting, but left quite out of consideration. The only possible way in which the spectroscope can show that the light of a heavenly body arises from the collision of hard masses is through making known some resemblance between the spectra of the light from

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the body and from such collisions. Now, we do not know that any one has ever systematically examined the spectra produced by collisions, and Mr. Lockyer says nothing on the subject, so that one term of his comparison is non-existent. He does not try to prove his thesis by comparing the two sources of light which he holds to be identical, but by comparing the spectra of different orders of celestial bodies with each other. He labors hard to show that the spectra of comets, auroras, nebulæ, and the zodiacal light all have certain distinctive features in common, and hence concludes that they arise from collisions. This form, bad as it is, is the only logical one to which we are able to reduce the reasoning.

But even when we leave this fatal defect out of consideration, it seems to us that Mr. Lockyer signally fails to show that the numerous spectra which he tries to interpret have in common any features which do not belong to all spectra. His efforts to prove that two things wholly unlike on the face of them are really very much alike, remind one of the efforts of the "Baconians" to show that the underlying ideas of the works of Shakspere and Bacon are identical. Indeed, Mr. Lockyer has the harder task of the two, inasmuch as differences of spectra are evident to the eye, while differences of literary style are evident only to the trained intellect. Take, for instance, the spectra of the aurora and of the zodiacal light; the one made up almost wholly of bright lines, the other a continuous band of light without a well-defined bright line in it. The first observer of the latter spectrum, Angstrom, thought he saw a bright line, identical with the principal line of the aurora; but his high northern latitude was extremely unfavorable to his observations, and more fortunate observers have since shown that he was mistaken. But this does not daunt our author in the least. The spectrum of the zodiacal light is very likely variable, and although it was not like that of the aurora when the later observers saw it, it might have been so when Angstrom saw it. Again, the spectra of most comets are as different from both the sharp lines of the aurora and the band of the zodiacal light as any spectrum well could be, being made up almost entirely of "flutings"—broad bands sharp at one edge, but fading off gradually at the other. These flutings are also found in the flame of carbon, so that we here have a well-known resemblance between a comet and a terrestrial flame; but this has no bearing whatever on the meteoritic hypothesis. The fact is, that the spectroscope has so far done little to lead us to solutions of the numerous problems of celestial chemistry to which its use has led. The simple canons of Kirchhoff and Bunsen are true as far as they go, but it was soon found that the same substance would, under different conditions, give very different spectra, and that the changes could not be reduced to any general law. When even the spectrum of so familiar an agent as lightning, where the physical agencies which come into play are fully understood, is one which we should not have anticipated, and can hardly explain to our own satisfaction, how shall we draw any conclusion from the spectrum of a nebula?

It is one of the great merits of Mr. Lockyer's book that one need not go outside of it to see how baseless are its conclusions. The quantitative fallacy, if we may use the expression, is one which runs through the first part of it. This is the fallacy which one should fall into if, hearing of the tens of thousands of ships afloat on the ocean, he should conclude that they must have difficulty in finding sailing-room. In the same way, Mr. Lockyer talks of the upper strata of the atmosphere being "charged with meteoric dust" from the twenty millions of meteorites which daily strike them. A simple calculation will show that if all the meteorites which our planet encountered in ten years were to remain suspended in the air, the most delicate physical test would fail to show their existence. He talks of a meteoritic swarm "ploughing its way through a meteoritic plenum," while he elsewhere quotes calculations which show that in the densest part of this "plenum" the meteoric particles are many miles apart, so that if a person should make the circuit of the sun in the midst of the swarm, the chances would be against his ever coming in sight of a single meteorite.

Our conclusion is, that if the reader of Mr. Lockyer's book would find it either instructive or valuable, he must first eliminate from it all arguments in favor of the meteoritic hypothesis, and remember that all we yet know about the physical constitution of nebulæ can be condensed into a very few sentences. Countless meteoroids, as Professor Newton has called them, are moving through the celestial spaces, but that they are all hard metallic masses we have no reason to believe. Of those which encounter our atmosphere, only one out of a thousand millions ever reaches the earth's surface, and this one is, of course, a very dense mass. What the others are we have, so far, not succeeded in learning. They may be like grains of sand or puffs of vapor or little pieces of the "chaos" of the Greek philosophers. The only circumstance which connects them with comets is that a stream of them is known to move in the orbit of each of two comets; but this affords no sufficient basis for so wide-reaching a theory as the one we have considered.

BOOKS ABOUT THE STAGE.

Curiosities of the American Stage. By Laurence Hutton. Harper & Bros.

The Art of Playwriting: being a practical treatise on the elements of dramatic construction, intended for the playwright, the student, and the dramatic critic. By Alfred Hennequin, Ph.D. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The Othello of Tomasso Salvini, described by Edward Tuckerman Mason. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Between the Whiffs. By Henry Herman. Bristol, Eng.: J. W. Arrowsmith.

Dramaturges et Romanciers. Par Émile Montégut. Paris: Hachette; New York: F. W. Christern.

Mr. Laurence Hutton writes about the 'Curiosities of the American Stage' with the same fulness of knowledge and with the same loving attention to detail that he wrote about the 'Literary Landmarks of London.' The title of his new book is at once comprehensive and non-committal; it would permit the author to insert almost anything which bore upon the history of the theatre in America. What it does contain is five well-considered essays on "The American Play," the "American Stage Negro," the "American Burlesque," the "Infant Phenomenon in America," and a "Century of American Hamlets." Three of these (including perhaps the most interesting and the most valuable paper of all, that on the origin and development of negro-minstrelsy) appeared originally in *Harper's Magazine*, and reappear here with all their abundant illustrations, each of which has now an unbacked page all to itself. Indeed, no other recent book about the stage, except possibly Mr. Jefferson's 'Autobiography,' has been as admirably or as amply illustrated as this of Mr. Hutton's. No other book certainly has had as careful a list of the portraits it contains, as full an index of persons, or as exact an index of places. These three things are denominated the "Dramatis Personæ," the "Cast of Characters," and the "Synopsis of Scenery" in the "Bill of the Play"—as the author fancifully calls his table of contents: the five chapters also appearing as five "Acts," and the first essay—that on "The American Play"—being broken into sections, here termed "Scenes." Naturally, the preface is called the "Argument," and from this we learn that the author modestly disclaims the critical attitude, and proffers his volume to the "Old Playgoer" and the "Dramatic Collector," two distinct entities not always coupled and inseparable.

Although the author's attitude is not deliberately critical, he collects his many facts and marshals his frequent anecdotes with a full sense of their relative value and importance. Despite his disclaimer, Mr. Hutton is in no wise deficient in what is one of the prime requisites of the true critic—the perception of perspective. Praise and space are here proportioned justly enough, and even the casual reader, while he is amused, will probably pick up a stray hint or two as to the vital principles of the art of the stage. To one of Mr. Hutton's positions we feel bound to take exception. In the most elaborate of his essays, that on the "American Play," in which he considers at length and with a wealth of titles and dates and anecdotes the Indian play, the Revolutionary play, the Frontier play, the play of American character, the New York "local" play, and the so-called "society" drama—in this chapter Mr. Hutton takes occasion to declare that an American play is a play which is American not only in its authorship, but also in its "incidents and scenes and characters" (page 6). There is something to be said for this limitation, no doubt, but a general application of the same principle would force us to maintain that "Hamlet" is not an English play, since its characters and its scenes are Danish, and that "Le Cid" is not a French tragedy, "Wilhelm Tell" not a German drama, and "Aïda" not an Italian opera.

M. Hennequin has a French name, but his 'Art of Playwriting' is subdivided with German minuteness, not to say Teutonic tediousness. He explains the technicalities of the stage with confusing "finickyness"—if the word is permissible; and his explanations are not always accurate. The *wings*, for example, are not "a series of chambers or platforms on each side of the stage" (p. 6); and in three places (p. 45, 87, and 139) he confuses "catch-word," which is a characteristic phrase used by a character more than once, with a "gag," which is an interpolation of the performer; while he nowhere explains the "tag," the concluding lines of a play. We may remark, also, that he has no warrant for calling the entrance of a character on the scene an "enter." These things, of course, are trifles, like the misspelling of *féerie* (p. 49), the attribution of the "Silver King" to Mr. Wills (p. 55), or the accrediting to Scribe alone of the "Bataille de Dames," which M. Legouvé has told us owed but little to Scribe.

Trifles as they are, they seem to indicate a certain carelessness; and, in fact, we discover that with all his multitudinous details, M. Hennequin has no firm grasp on the vital principles of dramatic construction. It is difficult to conceive of the person who can find

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his book profitable. A tyro so ignorant of the theatre as to need instruction of this elementary sort had best give up all hope of writing successfully for the stage. Of the mere mechanical processes of the dramatist more can be learned from Mr. Julian Magnus's essay in *Lippincott's Magazine* a year or two ago, or from the very British and rather vulgar book on 'Playwriting,' reprinted from the London *Stage*. Of the more artistic requirements of the dramatist, M. Hennequin reveals no capacity to say anything of value, and the novice can be recommended rather to read certain passages in Mr. Jefferson's 'Autobiography' and of Lewes's 'Actors and Acting,' and to study the advice in the elder Dumas's 'Souvenirs Dramatiques,' in the younger Dumas's prefaces and 'Entr'actes,' in M. Legouvé's 'Souvenirs' and 'Conférences,' and in M. Abraham Dreyfus's lecture on the art of the dramatist.

In his biography of Forrest Mr. Lawrence Barrett likens the actor to a statuary who carves his image in snow; a few days of sunshine, and it is gone for ever. Whatever helps to fix the fleeting image for the judgment of posterity is most welcome. The late Fleeming Jenkin (whose biography Mr. R. L. Stevenson has written with needless condescension) published the notes of Prof. Bell on Mrs. Siddons's *Lady Macbeth;* and Mr. Mason has now attempted a like record of Salvini's *Othello*. Mr. Mason prints the complete text of all the scenes in which *Othello* appears as they are arranged in the Italian version which Salvini acts; gives a diagram of every successive scene, marking the exact positions of every character; and accompanies this with a commentary in which the Italian actor's "reading" and all his "business" are duly recorded with unfailing accuracy. This has been read by Salvini himself, who has added such correction and comment as seemed to him needful. Therefore we have now, as far as may be, an exact record of the way in which one of the greatest Shaksperian parts was performed by one of the greatest actors of our time. This record is most valuable, and for it Mr. Mason deserves the ample thanks of all sincere students of the stage and of Shakspere. Admirable as is George Henry Lewes's criticism of Salvini, it is an æsthetic impression only, and in some ways of less worth than this scientific description. The power and the sweep of Salvini's *Othello* cannot be preserved by mere words, but the means whereby this majesty was attained may, some of them at least, be set down in black and white. It is greatly to be desired that other great Shaksperian performances of our time should be preserved as far as may be in like manner—Mr. Booth's *Iago* for example. Despite the interminable writing about Shakspere, there is still one thing left undone, and this is a history of each play as it has been seen on the stage, with details as to the modifications deemed advisable at each revival.

Mr. Henry Herman is half-author of the "Silver King," one of the best of modern melodramas, and he is the entire author of 'Between the Whiffs,' one of the poorest of theatrical jest-books. Actors have perhaps a broader sense of humor than most of us, and they tell a story better, and have many a good story to tell; but by some strange stroke of illfortune no one of these has found a resting-place in this little book of Mr. Herman's. It extends to one hundred and eighty-eight wholly unnecessary pages, and it has a brick red paper cover, depicting a scene at once offensive and impossible.

Reading M. Montégut's 'Dramaturges et Romanciers' is like turning over back numbers of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*—from which distinguished magazine, indeed, these essays are reprinted. And, to borrow a phrase of the day, M. Montégut's criticisms are themselves "back numbers." In 1890, articles on 'Le Roman en 1861,' and on 'Le Roman en 1876,' are curious rather than interesting; and the same may be said of the essay on the plays of the late Théodore Barrière, which seem now sadly old-fashioned. The criticisms of the dramatic work of the late Octave Feuillet, M. Sardou, and the late Emile Augier, are of more value, but, like most French dramatic criticisms—except M. Sarcey's—their point of view is literary rather than theatric; and this is a fatal defect, Charles Lamb to the contrary notwithstanding.

Mungo Park and the Niger. By Joseph Thomson. Dodd, Mead & Co. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 338.

THE editors of the "Great Explorers" series, of which this is the third volume, have been fortunate both in the choice of a subject and of a biographer; for Mungo Park's tragic career, though short, has an interest equalled by that of few explorers, while to Mr. Thomson's literary skill is added the higher qualification of a wide experience in various parts of Africa, including the Niger. His personal knowledge, therefore, of the difficulties which beset the traveller in savage Africa enabled him to form a just appreciation of Park's extraordinary success, so incommensurate with the means at his disposal. It also lends peculiar weight to his occasional comments, scattered through his narrative, on points connected with the opening up of the continent to commerce and civilization.

In the first chapters he briefly sketches the history of the Niger from the earliest times down to the foundation of the African Association in 1788. During the first three years of the existence of this society, it sent out four expeditions in search of the river, whose existence then was merely known through the accounts of the Arab writers. Though all were unsuccessful and three terminated fatally, Mungo Park, in 1795, offered his services for the same object. He was then twenty-four years old, a Scotchman, whose birthplace, on the Yarrow, was not very far from that of Dr. Livingstone, to whom in many respects he was so like and yet in one important particular so unlike. He started from the west coast with general instructions to trace the course of the river as far as possible, and especially to visit Timbuktu, of whose wealth extravagant ideas were then entertained. In our day a traveller into the interior of Africa requires an army of porters to carry his luggage, but Park had but two, negro servants, all his effects being borne by a single donkey. For the account of this memorable journey, which still remains unexcelled in the annals of African exploration for pure heroism and steadfastness to duty, as well as for its romantic adventures, we must refer our readers to Mr. Thomson's book. After seven months of wandering amid perils innumerable from the lack of food and shelter, from wild beasts, robbers, and especially from the hostile Moorish traders, who naturally looked upon him as a rival, he reached the river alone. One of his servants had deserted him; the other had been made a slave. "I hastened to the brink," says Park, whose account here we prefer to the rhetoric of his biographer, "and, having drank of the water, lifted up my fervent thanks in prayer to the Great Ruler of all things, for having thus far crowned my endeavors with success." Although he was some 2,000 miles from its mouth, the river was "as broad as the Thames at Westminster."

It was a bitter disappointment to the traveller to find, after riding about eighty miles down the stream, that further progress was impossible from the hostility of the people, and he determined to turn back. Before him lay a journey of 1,600 miles, which he must travel alone and on foot, for his horse soon after this failed him, while, to add to his anxieties, the rainy season was at hand. For weeks he struggled on, sometimes being hospitably treated, sometimes being driven from the negro huts at night to find shelter in the forest. On one such occasion, the country being infested with lions, he lay down at the gate of the village, but did not dare to sleep. About midnight the roar of a lion was heard at a little distance. In an agony of apprehension he waited as the beast gradually drew nearer his defenceless prey. "Driven frantic at last by the horror of his situation, he rushed to the gate and madly tugged at it with all the energy of one who struggles for dear life. In vain; his utmost efforts were as little able to move it as were his urgent appeals to touch the hearts of the natives." A little later, however, the gate was opened and he was permitted to enter, the natives being convinced that he was not a Moor, "none of whom ever waited any time outside a village without cursing it and all it contained."

At length his strength was utterly exhausted from hunger, exposure, and repeated attacks of fever, and a wilderness lay before him, intersected by eight rivers, which would be impassable for many months. A slave-trader took pity on the wretched traveller and cared for him during a terrible illness, which kept him hovering between life and death through six dreary weeks. But it was eight months before he could again set out for the coast, this time in a slave caravan under the lead of his benefactor. The caravan numbered about a hundred persons, among whom were "six singing men to lighten with song and antic the toils of the route." In his weakened condition Park could only by the most determined effort of will keep himself from sinking by the way during that terrible march. "The poor slaves," he says, "amidst their own infinitely greater sufferings, would commiserate mine, and frequently of their own accord bring water to quench my thirst, and at night collect branches and leaves to prepare me a bed in the wilderness." And yet, notwithstanding this kindness, and although he saw the slave-trade in all its horrors, even those of the middle passage (for a part of his return voyage was made on an American slave-ship), he has not a single word of condemnation for this traffic, and even indirectly upholds it! Various explanations have been made of this strange attitude of a deeply religious and humane man towards what is now recognized as "the open sore of the world." Possibly his intense feelings of gratitude to the slave-trader Karfa, as well as the general indifference of his time, when the anti-slavery agitation had but just begun, will sufficiently account for it.

Park reached England at the end of 1797, where he was received as one raised from the dead, having been absent two years and nine months. Shortly after this he married and settled down to the practice of medicine at Peebles. But while the mystery of the Niger remained unsolved, he could not rest content in Scotland. In 1805 he was again in Africa, at the head of an expedition consisting of some fif-

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ty or more men, all but three or four of whom were whites. It was unfortunate from the beginning, for it started "at the worst possible time of the year, and with the worst possible selection of men." He succeeded in reaching the Niger after superhuman exertions on his part, but only four of the Europeans were with him; the rest had perished by the way. Here his native guide left him on the point of embarking on the river "with the fixed resolution to discover the termination of the Niger, or perish in the attempt." For a thousand miles he sailed safely down the stream, but, when almost within sight of his goal, Park and his companions were drowned while defending themselves against the attack of the natives who were attempting to prevent his further progress. For years his fate remained unknown, and although at length authentic tidings of his death were received at the coast, his family refused to believe that he was not alive. So late as 1827 his son Thomas lost his life in a mad attempt to penetrate into the interior to search for his father.

With this tragedy the main interest of Mr. Thomson's book ceases. The remaining chapters are devoted to necessarily brief accounts of the explorations of Clapperton, the Landers, the French traveller Caillié (not Caillé, as Mr. Thomson persistently spells it), and of his own recent journey in the interests of the Royal Niger Company. It is to be regretted that he has neglected to mention the work of that remarkable African, Bishop Crowther, whose contributions to our knowledge of the geography of the Niger were publicly recognized in 1880 by the Royal Geographical Society. He condemns with righteous indignation the gin trade, which, singularly enough, began about the time of the decline of the slave trade. His well-known views in respect to the civilizing influence of Mohammedanism on the negro are also again stated with much force. Although to one familiar with Park's simple narrative, Mr. Thomson's style seems at times diffuse and rhetorical, his book is of unusual interest and value, not only as a biography, but as a history of one important part of the exploration of Africa. The illustrations are fair, some of them being apparently reproduced from those in the early editions of Park's travels; but we miss the one familiar to our childhood representing Park as driving the frogs from a pool that his horse may drink. There is an excellent index, and several maps showing the various views of the geographers as to the course of the Niger, as well as Park's routes.

Essays in English Literature, 1780-1860. By George Saintsbury. London: Percival & Co. 1890.

Mr. Saintsbury includes in this volume thirteen of the minor authors of the first part of the century, and to give an impression of the work they must be named. They are Crabbe, Hogg, Sydney Smith, Jeffrey, Hazlitt, Moore, Hunt, Peacock, Wilson, De Quincey, Lockhart, Praed, and Borrow. Most of these are out of vogue now, and the principal use of this book is to relieve the reader from the perusal of much dead literature which it is, nevertheless, well to know something about. The best of these essays we have commented upon from time to time as they appeared in magazines. They are all written after a faithful reading of the authors, many of them with spirit and some with an enthusiasm of appreciation which, however, the critic carefully keeps out of his style.

Mr. Saintsbury prefaces the whole with a brief paper on the kinds of criticism, in which he declares his preferences, insists that knowledge of other literature is a necessary qualification of a critic, and praises the comparative method. He protests, also, against the tendency to biographical and impressionist criticism, and calls for a return to the criticism based on fixed principles of taste. All this is in the right direction. His own writing, however, is overburdened with trivialities of fact, and is tedious in its fulness of talk about the subject. He does not present the individuality of the author's genius, his traits, with much body or grace; and in particular he is continually offending by looking over his shoulder at an imaginary somebody who "will say" so and so about the critic's present sentence. One cannot help noting, also, that though aware that these are minor authors and acknowledging it, he usually contrives to insert some judgment which declares the author under examination very remarkable indeed. Thus, he says that Hazlitt "was the greatest critic that England has yet produced," and that Sydney Smith, "for goodness as well as for cleverness, for sound practical wisdom as well as for fantastic verbal wit, has had hardly a superior and very few equals." Similar passages could be quoted from other essays. His account of Peacock, his defence of Lockhart, and his paper on Borrow seem to us excellent, and may be read with profit by any literary student; but it must be acknowledged that Mr. Saintsbury's style is uninteresting, his matter second-rate, and his idiosyncrasies (which are Toryish of a very old-fashioned kind) trying. Neither is his English so pure as should belong to a professional wide reader of the best English as it has been used by great and small writers.

An Introduction to Social Philosophy. By John S. Mackenzie. Macmillan & Co. 1890.

It seems indisputable to the ordinary mind that, if human society is to be made over, there should be some determination of its ideal end; for otherwise, as Aristotle says, we should be like archers without a mark, rather unlikely to attain the needful. Yet most of the social reformers who now flourish are so eager to get at work that they are disposed to omit this indispensable preliminary, and thus discourage intelligent people from following them. It is the merit of Mr. Mackenzie that he recognizes the illogical character of this procedure, and endeavors to throw upon the future of mankind some light from the lamp of philosophy. In this attempt he displays considerable dialectical power, and his treatise is distinguished by lucid and methodical statement. His claim is, moreover, a very modest one, for he declares that philosophy can offer no certain conclusions (for if it did they would be necessarily wrong), and it can never have any results which are not subject to modification by a deeper insight.

"It would appear as if we must either grant that there is no philosophy worthy of the name at all, or else hold that philosophy is nothing more than a vague effort after system, and not in any sense the attainment of it—which, again, would only be another way of granting that there is no philosophy worthy of the name. But the solution of this difficulty is to be found in the consideration of the nature of an ideal. The possession of an ideal may be said to lie midway between the attainment of an end and the mere struggle towards it. In guiding ourselves by an ideal, we are struggling towards an end to which we already possess with more or less completeness the conditions of attainment. Such an ideal is not in the full sense knowledge; but it is a kind of prophetic insight which, for a developing being like man, is as good as knowledge—or, in a sense, even better."

Philosophy, therefore, is the effort to attain clear insight into the meaning of our conceptions, guided by the ideal of knowledge as a completed system. It is higher than science, yet depends upon it—to use Hegel's illustration—as eating depends upon food. All philosophies prove inadequate, and yet through them philosophy gradually takes shape. We must remain unscientific, depending upon a kind of faith—the faith that things have a meaning, that the world is a rational system. Social philosophy, or the metaphysic of social life, is possible, because the structure of society must be regarded as logically prior to the existence of any human being. It comprehends ethics and politics, and has a useful part to play in regulating these subjects. It must "guard against the danger of confounding history with prophecy—of supposing that that which has been is necessarily that which will be, or at any rate that when we have investigated past conditions, we are in possession of a complete clue to the future."

As we cannot here discuss the limits of science and metaphysics, we shall confine our criticism to a statement of what is involved in Mr. Mackenzie's position. He assumes not only that things have a meaning, but also that we can find out what it is. He rejects the view, not that past conditions furnish us a *complete* clue to the future (which no one holds), but that they furnish the only clue. The only basis of science is the uniformity of nature—including man's nature. But Mr. Mackenzie holds that prophetic insight is a further basis of philosophy; that we may divine the future independently of our experience of the past. Now, even if we admit the existence of prophets and prophetic insight in this sense, it is evident that we must have some criterion of their insight before we are in position to determine whether they are true prophets or false. Not every one that says Lo here! or Lo there! is to be followed. This criterion corresponds with verification in science, but we do not observe that Mr. Mackenzie supplies it. The analogy that he refers to between prophetic insight and the scientific imagination is misleading on this account, for the latter is mere dreaming unless tested by verification; while the only verification applicable to the former is to wait until it is fulfilled.

However this may be, Mr. Mackenzie proposes to make a practical use of his philosophy in solving the social problem, which is "to raise up the humble and teach the victorious how to use their power." Society has become plastic and disintegrated, and organic filaments are only beginning to form. "Men were first exploited by men; then they were exploited by things; the problem now is to combine men together so that they may exploit things." Democracy is the culmination of the integrating process. "The possibility of a democratic government is consequently one of the inspiring elements in our present social condition, opening up an almost infinite prospect of improvement in the organization of industry and of life in general. Democracy is, in fact, the ideal form of government for a perfect fluid, as aristocracy is for a solid; and the more our society tends to liquefy, the more entirely does democracy become at once possible and necessary."

The deliberative function in democracy is foreshadowed by the "numerous voluntary associations for social ends which are everywhere growing up," among which Mr. Mackenzie includes the Knights of Labor in America. We apprehend that the social ends of this body are such that his prophetic insight will not gain credit in this country from the

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remark—"It seems difficult to over-estimate the good that may be done by such associations as are here referred to, as means for the diffusion of that light and culture which are required to temper our democracy." But we will do Mr. Mackenzie the justice to say that he is not always so unfortunate in his prophecies, and we find many of his observations acute and suggestive. It is not very strong or profound thinking that he does, but it is careful, and those who consider a philosophy of society as attainable will be interested in Mr. McKenzie's ideal. He has read widely, but with the rather annoying result that he finds it hard to express himself except in the language of others. There is scarce a paragraph in his book that does not contain at least one phrase or sentence in quotation marks, and many paragraphs are fairly peppered with inverted commas.

U. S.: An Index to the United States of America, historical, geographical, and political; a Hand-book of Reference, combining the "Curios" in U. S. History. Compiled by Malcolm Townsend. Boston: D. Lothrop Co.

WHILE the making of scrap-books is an interesting and commendable pursuit, the publishing of them generally results in a production of little value to any one except the compiler. This is principally because everything which comes into the net of the scrap-book-maker is treated as good fish, so that, while part of the catch has more or less value, much of it has none. In such collections, along with facts as undisputed as the rise of the tide, one frequently finds other "facts" whose sole source is the inventive faculty of some reckless or facetious journalist. We mention these characteristics of this class of books because 'U. S.,' if no better in plan than many others, is much better in execution. Though we do not altogether approve the selection of facts to be presented nor their arrangement when chosen, the compiler deserves the great (because unusual) credit of having, in most cases, verified their correctness. He is careful to tell the reader, for instance, that the Declaration of Independence was *not* signed on the Fourth of July; that Maine was not so named in honor of the wife of Charles I., as commonly asserted, because, at the time the name was first used, there was no prospect of his marrying a French Princess.

The book is rich in appropriate maps and illustrations—the former hideous to the eye from the coarse drawing and coloring—and in documents. In addition to the text of the Constitution and the Declaration, which are always found in similar works, we have the Confederate Constitution, with a joint index to both papers, very useful for purposes of comparison, and many other reprints. Space fails us to describe the remaining contents, which include a great variety of statistical and other information, some useful, as the history of geographical names and terms, elections and Cabinets, coins, etc., and some that is trivial. We have noticed but few loose statements, though that "In February, 1866, slavery was abolished for ever by act of Congress" must be classed as such, as well as the assertion that Mugwumps were exclusively those "who favored the Democratic candidate for the reason that a change in administration was necessary, as 24 years was long enough for a party to be in power." Of positive misstatements we have observed only one, that Pickering was appointed Postmaster-General from Massachusetts.

Owing partly to its unalphabetical arrangement and to the inadequacy of the index, the book will be less useful, though perhaps more amusing, than better arranged publications, such as Brown's 'Dictionary of American Politics.' In the index, which is well made as far as it goes, we notice an odd error, by which certain attributes of the Presidents in general are attributed to one of them.

Le Opere Italiane di Giordano Bruno ristampate di Paolo de Lagarde. 2 vols. Göttingen. New York: G. E. Stechert. 2 vols. Pp. 800. 8vo.

THE Italian works of Bruno have hitherto been accessible only in the collective edition of Wagner (Leipzig, 1830). The original editions are so excessively rare that a complete set of them is hardly to be found in any one library. Several of them were printed at places—not always, it would seem, those named on the title-page—where type-setters and proof-readers skilled in Italian were scarcely to be had, and Prof. Lagarde gives reasons for thinking that the 'Candelaio' is the only one of them which Bruno himself can have corrected. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that errors of the types, anomalies of spelling, punctuation, and the like, are very numerous, even judged by sixteenth-century standards. The question of an editor's duty in such a case is one of some difficulty. Wagner took a liberal view of his functions, and undertook not only the correction of obviously accidental faults, but a far-reaching modernization of the language of Bruno. That in this he was not uniformly consistent or successful, cannot be wondered at. His procedure has been sharply criticised by Imbriani and others, who have also shown that, apart from intentional changes, the accuracy of Wagner's reprint leaves much to be desired. Numerous examples of omissions of words and clauses, departures from the reading of the original, and erroneous emendations are given by Professor Lagarde (p. 771 *seq.*). The reader can enlarge the list to any extent that he thinks worth while. For instance, in the sentence (Wagner ii. 301, l. 41=Lagarde, 611, l. 6), "la nostra simplice libertà et l'altrui maliciose regole, censure, et institutione," the word *libertà* is omitted, and the sense wholly destroyed. It is not ungrateful depreciation of the work to which we are indebted for whatever knowledge we have of Bruno's Italian writings, to say that Wagner's edition does not at all meet the need of the present-day student. Besides, it is out of print and scarce.

A new edition was therefore a desideratum, and this one is doubly welcome because Prof. Lagarde has done just what his predecessor did not. With an accuracy for which his name is a guarantee, he has reprinted the original editions just as they left the press. Palpable misprints are corrected, but even in this case the original reading is given at the foot of the page. For the student of the Italian language this must be a great gain. The editor points out a number of interesting peculiarities of inflection, which Wagner's modernization consistently effaced, such as the forms *hauessiuo*, *fussiuo*, *harestiuo*, in a single line (53, l. 18), and the third persons in *-eno*, *e. g.*, *discorreno=discurrunt*, etc.

The external form of the edition is worthy of the pains which have been taken to secure the correctness of the text. For the convenience of scholars in citing the edition, the pagination runs through the two volumes, and every fifth line is numbered on the inner margin, so that any line can be referred to by a simple formula, say 100_{10}. A full index of names of persons and places is added. As an appendix, is reprinted a notice of the edition by the editor which originally appeared in the *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, February 1, 1889. In it Prof. Lagarde has given the impressions of Bruno which he has formed in the long and minute study of these writings. His estimate of the man differs materially from the two ready-made opinions between which the world now seems to be divided. It will doubtless be unacceptable to those who cannot bear to hear Bruno spoken of except in the language of indiscriminate eulogy. Nevertheless, it was a singularly unfortunate mistake of a reviewer in the *Academy*, who could think of no better way of accounting for Prof. Lagarde's judgment than by ascribing it to the prejudice of a Roman Catholic of the common type, and who, being corrected, fell into the almost more surprising error of making Lagarde a Protestant of the common type. Whether we wholly agree with the estimate or not, we must recognize in it a contribution toward a juster appreciation of the Nolan philosopher by a scholar who, like all men of strong individuality, has fixed opinions—prejudices, if you please—enough of his own, but who is singularly free from the worship of the idols of the tribe or the market-place. And does he not hit very near the mark when he points out, as the defect of Bruno's philosophy, that he attempted to solve philosophical problems with an astronomical key?

The interest in Bruno's Italian writings is, however, not exclusively in this philosophy, to get at which through its hard shell requires some perseverance. The picture of the men and manners of Elizabeth's England in the 'Cena de le Ceneri' is not flattering, but it is very entertaining. 'Gli Heroici Furori' is a panegyric of ideal love, in a tone befitting its dedication to Sir Philip Sidney; while the 'Candelaio' is a piece of realism which, in subject and execution, must delight our newest school. Has any one ever investigated its relation to Ben Jonson's "Alchemist"? But, after all, Bruno is not for many; and Prof. Lagarde very frankly says that he has had students more in mind than readers in preparing his edition. Some day, it is to be hoped, we shall have, in addition to this critical edition of the text, a commentary such as the text requires. Prof. Lagarde is his own publisher, which perhaps accounts for the fact that his Bruno has received but little notice.

BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

Abbott, Mary. The Beverleys. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. $1.25.
Adams, Rev. J. C. Christian Types of Heroism. Boston: Universalist Publishing House.
Alarcon, P. A. de. The Strange Friend of Tito Gil. A. Lovell & Co. $1.
Almanach de Gotha. Gotha: Justus Perthes; New York: B. Westermann & Co.
Bacon, F. The Essays or Counsels, Civil and Moral. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. $1.
Balch, F. H. The Bridge of the Gods. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. $1.25.
Baucher, F. Dressage Méthodique du Cheval de Selle. Paris: J. Rothschild.
Ball, W. W. R. Elementary Algebra. London: C. J. Clay & Sons.
Black, Wm. Stand Fast, Craig-Royston! Harper & Bros. 50 cents.
Blaikie, J. A. Love's Victory. London: Percival & Co.
Dawson, W. H. The Unearned Increment. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.
Canfield, C. W. The American Annual of Photography. Scovill & Adams Co.
Chambers's Encyclopædia. Vol. VI. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. $3.
Compton, A. G. First Lessons in Metal-Working. John Wiley & Sons.
Conger, Janet C. A Daughter of St. Peter's. J. W. Lovell Co. 25 cents.
Coy, E. G. Greek for Beginners. D. Appleton & Co.
Cunning, J. N. The New Constitution. Chicago: Donohue, Henneberry & Co.
Emerson, Elizabeth U. and Kate L. Brown. Stories in Song. C. H. Ditson & Co. 75 cents.
Flügel, Felix. A Universal English-German and German-English Dictionary. Part I. B. Westermann & Co. $1.
Ford, W. C. The Writings of George Washington. Vol. VIII. G. P. Putnam's Sons. $5.
Gautier, T. One of Cleopatra's Nights. Worthington Co.

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Gerome, P. The Shadow of the Millionaire. Belford Co.
Giddings, E. J. American Christian Rulers. Bromfield & Co.
Givins, R. C. The Rich Man's Fool. Chicago: Laird & Lee.
Goodwin, Mrs. H. B. Dorothy Gray. Boston: Damrell & Upham.
Haskins, Rev. D. G. The Bible Abridged. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. $1.50.
Heimburg, W. Christmas Stories. Worthington Co. 75 cents.
Holden, H. A. The Cyropædia of Xenophon. Books VI., VII., and VIII. Cambridge, Eng.: University Press; New York: Macmillan.
Lang, A. The Strife of Love in a Dream. London: David Nutt.
McRae, Charles. Fathers of Biology. London: Percival & Co.
Molière, J.-B.-P. Les Précieuses Ridicules. London: C. J. Clay & Sons.
Montagu, Lady Mary Wortley. Best Letters. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. $1.
Nansen, F. The First Crossing of Greenland. 2 vols. Longmans, Green & Co. $10.50.
Nicholson, M. Short Flights. Indianapolis: The Bowen-Merrill Co.
North, R. The Lives of the Norths. 3 vols. Scribner & Welford. $4.20.
Norton, C. L. Political Americanisms. Longmans, Green & Co. $1.
Norway, G. Hussein the Hostage. Scribner & Welford. $1.50.
Parker, Maria H. Aunty's Elfin Land. Boston: J. G. Cupples Co.
Paulton, E. A. The American Faust. Belford Co.
Peskett, A. G. Cæsar de Bello Civili. Liber I. Cambridge, Eng.: University Press; New York: Macmillan.
Phelps, A. My Note-Book. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.50.
Pyle, Howard. The Buccaneers and Marooners of America. Macmillan & Co. $1.50.
Racine, Jean. Les Plaideurs. London: C. J. Clay & Sons.
Riley, J. W. Rhymes of Childhood. Indianapolis: The Bowen-Merrill Co.
Robinson, F. W. Her Love and His Life. Harper & Bros. 30 cents.
Saintsbury, G. Essays in English Literature. 1780–1860. London: Percival & Co.
Secrétan, Charles. Les Droits de l'Humanité. Paris: Félix Alcan.
Schnée, E. Diabetes. London: H. K. Lewis. $2.
Schiller, F. Wilhelm Tell. London: C. J. Clay & Sons.
Scribner's Magazine. Vols. VII. and VIII. 1890. Charles Scribner's Sons.
Sousa, J. P. Airs of All Lands. Philadelphia: Harry Coleman. $3.
Stables, G. 'Twixt School and College. Scribner & Welford. $1.50.
Stevenson, R. L. Ballads. Charles Scribner's Sons. $1.
Symes, J. E. The Prelude to Modern History. Longmans, Green & Co. 80 cents.
The American Digest. (Annual, 1890). St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing Co.
The Green Bag. 1890. Vol. II. The Boston Book Co.
The Public Schools Year Book. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.
The Scotch-Irish in America. Cincinnati, O.: Robert Clarke & Co. $1.
Uz, J. P. Sämtliche Poetische Werke. 2 vols. Stuttgart: G. J. Göschen.
Whyte-Melville, G. J. The Gladiators. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co.
Wiggin, Kate Douglas. Timothy's Quest. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. $1.
Willard, E. Julius Cæsar: An Historical Tragedy. Philadelphia: Horace Willard.

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